THE CHINA WEEKLY

REVIEW

Devoted to the Economic, Political and Social Development of China and its Intercourse with Other Nations

"Undermining American Policy in China

The Attempted Raid On The USSR Consulate

Will The Chinese Revolution Be Able To Succeed?

By Albert Y. Hugh

Chinese Christians Facing a Brighter Future

By Frank Rawlinson

Feng Yu-hsiang Advances Eastward

By J. B. P.

評論報 密勒氏

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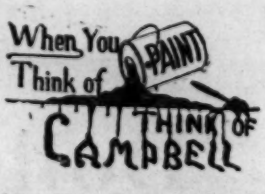

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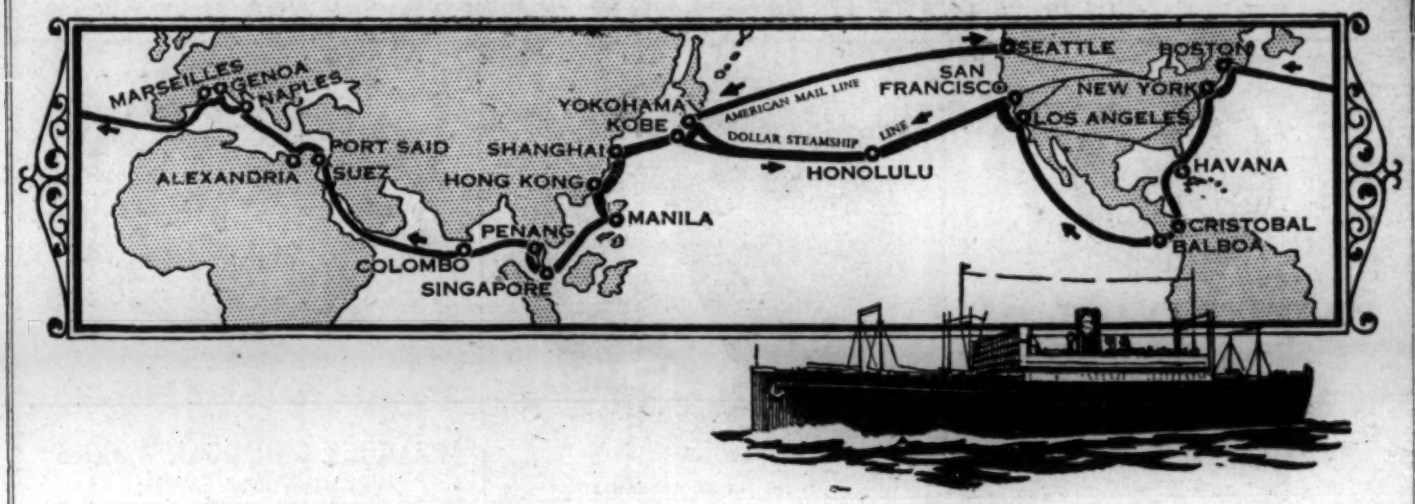

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THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

Formerly Millard's Review

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WHAT WAS THE PURPOSE OF LAMONT'S TRIP TO JAPAN?

WE SUPPOSE, when the psychological time arrives, that Mr. Thomas W. Lamont of J. P. Morgan and Company, will inform a curious world as to just what he did on his recent trip to Japan. In the meantime, there seems to be no other course open than to speculate on what he did. And of speculation there seems to be a plenty, in which connection the *Japan Chronicle* seems to have performed a real service by summarizing the various 'speculations' which have appeared in the Japanese press as to the purpose of Mr. Lamont's trip, to the following effect:

1. What attitude Japan is going to assume towards the Four-Power Consortium in China which is to expire in the near future.

2. Whether it would be feasible to have Japan guarantee payment of principal and interest by China by concluding a special agreement with Japan concerning America's investment in the Chinese Republic in the future.

3. How much more American capital Japan may in future be able to digest, and what have become of the American advances hitherto made to Japan.

4. Future possibilities of Japan's industrial enterprises.

5. The conditions of Japan's electric enterprises wherein American capitalists are so much interested.

6. General condition of the Quake Restoration work in Japan.

Concerning these various speculations pertaining to the purpose of Mr. Lamont's trip to Japan, the *Chronicle* expresses the opinion that the less said about the Four Power Banking Consortium the better, due to the fact that on Mr. Lamont's previous visit to the Far East he declared that the Consortium agreement insisted on the inclusion of Manchuria and Mongolia in the scope of the understanding, while Mr. Kajiwara of the Yokohama Specie Bank assured the Japanese bankers that the Consortium would *not* operate in those territories. The editor of the *Chronicle*, in this connection explained that the only way of reconciling these statements is on the hypothesis that there was a gentleman's agreement to include Manchuria and Mongolia nominally, but not actually. In reference to the second point pertaining to the possibility of working out some scheme whereby Japan would guarantee American loans to China, the editor of the *Chronicle* asks whether Mr. Lamont made inquiry of the Japanese bankers as to whether they had experienced any difficulty in collecting their own debts in China.

THIS SUGGESTION of lending American money in Japan for the purpose of enabling Japan to exploit China, originated, we believe, with the late Judge Elbert Gary, president of the

United States Steel Corporation. Judge Gary argued that since it was not possible to induce the American Government to adopt strong measures in forcing China to pay her debts, the only way out was to lend Japan the money and let Japan do the pressuring. Thus, argued Judge Gary, the American investors would be able to obtain good interest rates on their money and America would not suffer from Chinese animosities because Japan would do all the "dirty work" in case China defaulted. Judge Gary probably figured that if he could get his scheme adopted he might be able to sell millions of tons of steel rails and thousands of bridge-forms for future railways which the Japanese might lay down on Chinese soil. But Gary's scheme didn't go through and we see little likelihood of anything similar succeeding today. If there is anybody who should be familiar with Japanese enterprises in China, it is Mr. George Bronson Rea who has served as a Japanese protagonist for several years and who publishes a magazine in Shanghai which is largely devoted to Japanese interests. Here's what Mr. Rea said about Japanese investments in China in a recent address in the United States:

> "Outside of the South Manchuria Railway, not one of her enterprises in China has returned a fair rate of interest on the investment. The money in nearly every case has gone into the pockets of the Chinese. Japan owns outright 40 per cent of the total cotton spindles in China and through her loans to private Chinese cotton mills, now controls over 50 per cent of China's cotton industry. She has Yen 45,000,000 invested in the shape of loans in the Han-Yeh-Ping Company, which operates the great Chinese steel mill at Hanyang, the iron mines at Tayeh and the coal mines at Pinghsiang, all located in the heart of the Hankow region. Japan has $15,000,000 in the Kiangsi Railway, tied up for years, on which she has received neither interest nor principle."

Mr. Rea might also have included in his list the so-called Nishihara loans which Japan dumped into China to the tune of some $350,000,000 (silver) during the World War. China has repaid not one dollar of either interest or principal on these loans and the Japanese Government was recently forced to take them over in order to save the banks concerned from bankruptcy. Also, we are inclined to question the value from the standpoint of the Japanese people generally, of the great investment in the South Manchuria Railway. While it is true that a few Japanese capitalists and politicians have made vast fortunes out of the South Manchuria investment, it is extremely questionable whether the investment is a sound one from the standpoint of the real interests of the Japanese people. The South Manchuria Railway is an imperialistic adventure, pure and simple, and as such is on a par with the old German adventure in Shantung province which ended disastrously for Germany as a result of the World War. Despite all the misinformation spread by the propagandists, *Manchuria is Chinese territory*. There are now some 30,000,000 Chinese living in that area and from recent popular manifestations toward Japan, they seem to be just like the rest of the Chinese when it comes to solidarity on the question of national rights.

WE DO NOT wish to give the impression of disbelief in the possibilities of Japanese-American cooperation in China. We believe there is a possibility for Japanese-American cooperation in China and a sound economic basis for such cooperation, but assuredly not on the lines which the present Tanaka Ministry apparently has in mind and most certainly not along the lines which certain Japanese propagandists, such as Mr. George Bronson Rea, have been advocating. There has been no official announcement of the actual provisions of Japan's present "positive" policy toward China, but sufficient has been said to indicate that it is nothing more nor less than a reversion to the old Twenty-One Demands of 1915 which were forced upon China by the Okuma Ministry. General Tanaka, the present Japanese Premier, is a member of the military clique and in order to prevent interference with his military plans he has never appointed a civilian Minister of Foreign Affairs in the present Japanese Government since he came into power. The present Tanaka policy toward China is therefore a Japanese military policy, and although Tanaka has not said so in as many words, his intention is to create a situation in Manchuria and Inner Mongolia which would make Japanese colonies of those areas to all practical intents and purposes. Tanaka would support Marshal Chang Tso-ling and use him as his tool for advancing Japanese interests throughout North China and over the entire country as well, if such were possible. Tanaka would close the door of North China, including the ports of Tientsin and Tsingtao, to all foreign commercial enterprise, excepting that of Japan, and ultimately would bring Chihli and Shantung provinces into the Japanese sphere similar to what has already been accomplished in Manchuria and Inner Mongolia. In other words, Baron Tanaka would close the door of North China to all foreign commercial enterprise excepting that of Japan, which would mean the closing of American and British firms and the placing of their agencies in the hands of Japanese firms. This, in brief, is the ultimate end of the present Japanese "positive" policy in North China and it is for the development and consolidation of this policy that Baron Tanaka would now float large loans in the United States through the offices of J. P. Morgan and Company.

THIS IS THE sort of "cooperation" between Japan and America in China, which would certainly lead to disaster from the standpoint of American policy and fundamental interests in the Far East. In brief, Japan would use American capital for the purpose of converting a considerable section of the Asiatic mainland into a Japanese colony similar to what has already been accomplished in Korea and to a partial extent in Manchuria and Inner Mongolia. Certain American capitalists would gain materially by this policy for they would obtain good interest on their money, but American interests generally would suffer through having a large section of the Asiatic continent closed to their enterprise. Ultimately it would place Japan in possession of the resources and man-power which she would require for a war with the United States. This may sound far-fetched, but there can be no disputing the present trend of Japanese imperialism in respect to North China. The State Department is supposed to exercise a certain amount of supervision over American loans to foreign countries. Therefore it is assumed that the American Government is familiar with the present situation and in case J. P. Morgan and Company does have in contemplation large financial advances to Japan directly or to the South Manchuria Railway, it is to be hoped that the United States Government will see that certain safeguards are included in any loan contracts which would prevent America from being dragged into a partnership with the present Japanese imperialistic adventure in China. If this is not done, America might as well forget about her old policies of the Open Door and Equality of Opportunity in North China, and American firms with interests in North China might as well prepare to close their branches and turn over their agencies to Japanese firms.

WORLD-WIDE INTEREST IN A NEWS EVENT!

ONE OF THE late issues of the *New York Times* to reach Shanghai contains dispatches from Shanghai, London, Rome, Paris, Tokyo, Melbourne, Rio De Janeiro, Guayaquil, Lima, San Juan, Cape Town, Winnepeg and from the S. S. Berengaria at sea, and all the dispatches dealt with one subject—the world-wide interest in the Dempsey-Tunney battle in Chicago last September. All of the dispatches were gathered by the *Associated Press*, the great American news agency and in addition to testifying to the enterprise and world-encircling scope of that organization, it also constituted a testimonial to the similarity of interest of mankind, regardless of where located. Another interesting phase of the subject was that in practically all cases the story of the Chicago battle for the world's heavy-weight championship, was told by radio. In San Juan, Porto Rico, the reports "were so clear that it was possible to hear even the shuffle of the fighters' feet," while in Cape Town, Union of South Africa, we are informed that "thousands of persons throughout South Africa remained up all night to hear the radio description." In Winnepeg, Manitoba, the "descriptive accounts of the fight were as good as if we had sat at ringside." Some will deplore the fact that all of this interest was wasted on a prize fight; as a matter of fact, the *Osservatore Romane*, the official organ of the Vatican at Rome, called attention to this point saying it was an "exaltation of brute force to the detriment of the spiritual progress of humanity." But regardless of that viewpoint it is significant that practically the whole world could become interested at the same time in the same thing, even though it was a prize fight. Perhaps in the dim and distant future, after we have all become civilized, it will be possible to get everybody to stay up all night to hear a radio lecture on world peace, but for the present we will have to practice up on prize fights in which about everybody does seem to be interested.

UNDERMINING AMERICA'S POLICY IN CHINA

MR. GEORGE Bronson Rea, publisher of an engineering journal in Shanghai which derives its chief advertising support from Japanese interests and which, from an editorial standpoint, is devoted chiefly to the propagation of a Japanese "strong" policy toward China, is now in America lecturing before trade organizations on the subject of American policy toward China. In a recent address delivered before an important trade organization Mr. Rea urged American cooperation with Great Britain and Japan in a policy of armed intervention in China, holding out the bogey that unless America does cooperate in a strong policy toward China, all China will go Bolshevik, Great Britain and Japan will be ruined and the whole world will advance "one more step forward toward the Soviet goal of world revolution." In the course of his address, Mr. Rea admitted that the Powers have undoubtedly agreed upon a policy of non-intervention in China proper, "but when it comes to Manchuria and Mongolia the situation is entirely different." In the course of an analysis of American trade with China, Mr. Rea stated that America exports G. $100,000,000 worth of merchandise to China annually, of which between 30 and 40 percent is sold by Japanese firms and between 10 and 15 percent by British firms. Therefore if Japanese and British investments in China are ruined, American trade with China "would drop at least 50 percent and our market with Japan will dwindle to an alarming extent." Altogether it's an interesting picture which Mr. Rea paints to prove that America should stand shoulder-to-shoulder with Britain and Japan in China, but he admits that it is a difficult job convincing the American people on this point. The reason for America's failure to see the "light" is due, in Mr. Rea's opinion to "the Uplift element in America who monopolize the public platforms and flood Washington with resolutions recommending acceptance of the Chinese viewpoint." To quote from Mr. Rea's oratory further, he declares, "In every instance where the subject of China has been discussed from a public platform in America for the past six months, the speaker has been either a missionary, an educator, a Y. M. C. A. secretary, or a propagandist in the pay of the Nationalist Government." Mr. Rea then explains that both Japan and Great Britain have made great sacrifices in the Far East on account of the United States. Japan, it seems, was forced to give up important concessions in Manchuria and Britain was forced to give up the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. Britain's "stake" in China, according to Mr. Rea is G. $1,750,000,000 exclusive of Hongkong and Japan's "stake" in China is G. $2,500,000,000. Therefore in view of this situation America should muzzle its uplifters, missionaries, educators, Y. M. C. A. secretaries, and so on, and "stand shoulder-to-shoulder with Great Britain and Japan, for if the British and Japanese are driven from China, we will follow," thus resulting, to follow out Mr. Rea's circuitous argument, in leaving China to the missionaries, Y. M. C. A. secretaries, uplifters—and 'other' Bolsheviks!

The Attempted Raid On The USSR Consulate

THE ATTEMPTED raid on the Consulate-General of the U S S R in Shanghai on the evening of Monday, November 7, by Russian Whites was the culmination of the campaign of hatred and violence which has been preached in this city for so many weeks and months. Therefore the responsibility for the blood which was shed rests upon the consciences of a number of highly placed foreign individuals of non-Russian nationality in Shanghai who have been secretly and openly urging this thing on from the background. Yes, urging it on from the comfortable security provided by extraterritoriality which permits foreigners to carry on propaganda campaigns on Chinese soil which would not be permitted for a minute in any sovereign country. The ignorant Russian Whites who were put up to this job and who suffered as a result are to be pitied; the unfortunate part of the matter is that those really responsible cannot be reached by the law. Let us hope they have had a warning which will immediately put a stop to activities which are tending more and more to discredit Western, and particularly Anglo-Saxon civilization, in this part of the world.

To refer to the details of the attempted raid, it really started with a demonstration of Whites before the Soviet Consulate-General at about 11 o'clock on the morning of Monday, November 7, when a crowd gathered before the building and tore down the flags which had been placed before the entrance of the building in commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the present Soviet regime. Mr. B. Koslovsky, the Consul-General, was holding a reception at the time, which was attended by members of the local Consular Body whose governments have official relations with the Soviet Government and by local residents, including some Americans and Britons.

In view of the fact that the demonstration started early in the morning, the Shanghai Municipal Police should have had sufficient warning of impending trouble; as a matter of fact preparations for the demonstrations and raid on the Consulate had been known in Shanghai for several weeks and had been a subject of popular gossip. In view of the fact that the Shanghai Municipality employs in its police department a number of White Russians, the Police should have had complete details and been prepared for any situation which might arise. Had the police been on the job at the beginning the whole thing might have been prevented and bloodshed avoided. The police did an excellent job after they arrived in force and deserve credit for this, but they deserve severe censure for not being on the job at the beginning.

So much for the background. The actual trouble started at about 7 o'clock in the evening when White Russians began to gather in front of the Astor House Hotel opposite the Soviet Consulate. There were several women in the crowd and all were wearing badges containing the colors of the old Czarist Empire and black mourning arm-bands. By 7:30 o'clock the crowd had grown to possibly fifty and in the group were several poorly dressed men making a striking contrast to many of the women who were attired in fur coats. At this time there were five or six men wearing police uniforms patrolling the sidewalk adjacent to the Soviet Consulate, but they made no move whatever to stop the trouble at its inception. Persons standing in the lobby of the Astor House Hotel, including the writer of these paragraphs and other newspaper correspondents as well, observed this phenomena and commented on it, particularly the fact that the Municipal police offered no resistence whatever when the crowd began throwing bricks and rocks at the building. One policeman was conspicuous for his inactivity, since he stood directly in front of the Astor House alongside men and women who were throwing stones and breaking windows in the front of the Consular building. In addition to this a squad of armed White Russian Volunteers in the pay of the Shanghai Municipal Council, who were stationed on the Garden Bridge adjoining the Soviet Consulate, presumably for the purpose of watching for kidnappers and armed robbers, made no move whatever to interfere with the mob which was attacking the Consulate. Furthermore, while they showed great activity in stopping and searching motor cars containing Chinese, they allowed several motor cars *loaded with armed White Russians*, the cars being decorated with czarist colors and hence conspicuous, to pass across the bridge without interruption.

So far as the crowd standing in front of the Astor House was aware, the police did not begin to arrive in force and offer resistance to the rioters, until after officials of the Soviet Consulate had been forced to open fire on the attackers, which was not done until the front door had been forced and several of the rioters had entered the building. It was about this time that someone blew a police whistle and a few Sikh and Chinese police from adjoining streets began to arrive on the scene. And it was a considerable time even after that before the police van with the riot squad arrived and threw a cordon about the front of the building and began to force the crowd back to the ends of the block. Things were happening so rapidly that it was difficult to check up on the time which elapsed between the beginning of the trouble and the arrival of police reinforcements, but it is fairly accurate to say that the crowd became threatening at shortly after 7 o'clock when the stone throwing started. The attempt to rush the door of the building must have been at about 7:30 or 7:45 when the Soviet officials began to fire on the mob and it was probably 8 or 8:15 o'clock before the police reinforcements arrived.

The actions of the police were beyond criticism *after they did get on the job* for they immediately formed first and second lines of defense and quickly forced the crowd back from the street directly in front of the building. This aroused the admiration of the onlookers, but it must also be stated in fairness in this connection, that it was the shots from the Consulate which really forced the mob back from directly in front of the building. One of the attackers who was shot through the head was dragged back from the doors of the Consulate to the sidewalk directly in front of the Astor House and this naturally had a sobering effect on the hot-heads who were leading the attack.

In order to form a correct understanding of what happened, it is necessary here to include statements of the Soviet Consul, Mr. B. Koslovsky, made before and after the attack on the Consulate. These statements were made to correspondents in Shanghai of the *Chicago Tribune*, *Associated Press* and *New York Times*. The first statement, which was made at about 5 o'clock in the afternoon, before the attack, was substantially as follows: "We are aware that a raid on the Consulate is being threatened and have notified the police. We are prepared to defend ourselves against bandits and intend to do so in the event that the Shanghai Municipal Council do not give us the protection to which we are entitled as a Consulate accredited to the Chinese Government. We have no apprehension regarding the attitude of the rank and file of the Russian refugees residing in Shanghai, but there are many White Russians in Shanghai of a desperate character who have been urged on by the representatives of certain imperialistic European interests and their agents in Shanghai, including local Shanghai 'die-hards' and a certain British newspaper, hoping thereby to create an incident." Mr. Koslovsky also stated at the same time his belief that the guard of White Russian paid volunteers which the Municipal Council had stationed on the Garden Bridge had been placed there more for the purpose of harassing and observing the Soviet Consulate than for the alleged purpose of detecting kidnappers and armed robbers and cited the fact that posters attacking the Soviet Consulate which had been pasted on the Garden Bridge were permitted to remain up all day of the Soviet anniversary and also an anti-Soviet effigy consisting of a coffin bearing the word, "Communism" and two caricatures on a flat-boat anchored in the creek, was permitted to remain in position all afternoon without interference on the part of the White Russian Volunteers on the bridge.

In addition to this statement, the Soviet Consul made another statement to the correspondents, following the incident, which was to the following effect: "The attack on the Soviet Consulate was the direct result of the activities of certain local interests, particularly certain sections of the local press, which is opposed to the Soviet and is trying to crush us. Owing to the fact the local police authorities were either unable or unwilling to give us the protection to which we are entitled as the accredited Consulate of the U S S R to the Chinese Government, we were forced to protect ourselves. Since we have some twenty women and eight children, members of families of the Consular staff residing in the building, we were forced to fire on the attackers, other-

wise everyone in the building would have been killed. We attempted to telephone the Police Department three times before we could get through to a responsible officer and demand assistance. More than a half hour elapsed before the police arrived in sufficient force to disperse the crowd. We have appealed to the Chinese authorities for protection, although we realize that the Chinese have no authority inside the International Settlement."

CONCLUSIONS

To refer back to the opening paragraph of this discussion regarding responsibility for this incident, we have only to call attention to statements in the local press which have tended to bring about a state of mind calculated to make such incidents possible

This Picture Shows the Broken Windows at the Entrance to the Building Next the Garden Bridge.

There have been numerous editorials in the foreign newspapers here which have openly suggested the creation of incidents, particularly an editorial in the *North China Daily News* on September 17 which recommended the creation of an incident which might force the foreign governments to take action. At the meeting on Friday, Sept. 30, when the Shanghai Fascist organization was formally organized, at least two speakers suggested the forcible "closing and cleaning-out" of the Soviet Consulate. Then of still more importance, one of the local Russian White newspapers, which, we understand is published in the French Concession, recently is alleged to have published the most inflammatory articles suggesting, "blood for blood," "two eyes for one eye," and so on and recommending a "white terror" in Shanghai. The anti-Soviet poster which was pasted on the Garden Bridge, obviously by Whites, and which was permitted to remain up for at least forty-eight hours contained most inflammatory statements ending up with, "Why should the Communist highway robbers be allowed to remain in China? Let's clear them out of Shanghai!"

As to the effect of this incident on public opinion generally, we believe the final result of this plot will be to further enhance the prestige of the Soviet among the Chinese and also among foreigners generally, the reason for this supposition being that while we may not approve of the policies of the Soviet, there is general admiration for any group of men who have the stamina to stand up for their convictions and fight against overwhelming odds. We are convinced that there has been a widespread plot on foot in Shanghai for a considerable period to raid the Soviet Consulate. The first attempt was made last spring when a cordon of White Russian police and Volunteers in the pay of the Municipal Council threw a cordon about the building, but the scheme misfired that time. This time the plot was deeper and more far reaching and it included not only White Russians but certain other highly placed foreigners in Shanghai who were interested in the matter for reasons of their own. But the thing misfired again, and, as stated in the foregoing, the deplorable results should constitute a warning that this is no way to solve the so-called Communist problem in

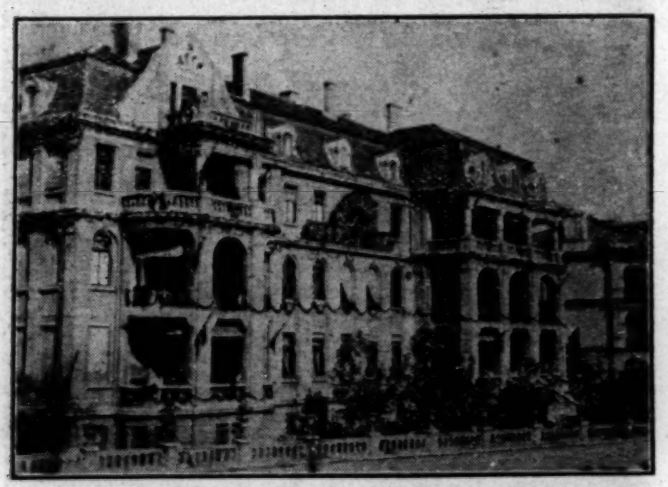
This Picture Shows one of the Prominent White Russians in Shanghai, Wearing a Mourning Arm-Band and Rosette Bearing the Old Czarist Colors. The Picture Was Snapped by An American Newspaper Correspondent as the Russian White Was Fraternizing with a Shanghai Municipal Policeman in Front of the Soviet Consulate on the Morning Following the Attempted Raid.

China. On the contrary it is the best way in the world to promote it, for we have yet to hear of an instance where two wrongs ever righted anything.

From the standpoint of the activities of the Shanghai Municipal Police, those who were on the job in the vicinity of the Consulate at the inception of the trouble made little or no effort to stop the disturbance. To persons standing in front of the Astor House Hotel less than 100 feet away the non-interference of the police was conspicuous and must have been due to lack of desire to interfere or out-

right derelection of duty. The first real resistance to the mob was offered by Sikh and Chinese policemen who ran to the scene from adjoining streets or possibly from the nearest police-station. These men deserve real credit for they showed courage and activity and certainly showed no fear of the mob.

We wish to make it perfectly clear that there is no intention to condone the activities of the Soviet authorities in China. Sufficient authoritive information has been published to prove to the most skeptical that their activities in Cnina in stirring up class hatred is deserving of the strongest possible condemnation. The Chinese realize this and recently have taken appropriate action to prevent further Communist activities. But this has nothing whatever to do with the matter of protecting a consulate located in the International Settlement, and which is duly accredited to the Chinese Government. If the Chinese Government at Peking or the local Nationalist Government wants to close the Soviet Consulate in Shanghai, that's their business exclusively. Apparently they do not want to close it and so long as it remains here, it is the duty of the Shanghai authorities to give it protection just as they protect the



This Picture Taken from the Garden Bridge Shows the Decoration and Illumination Which Were Put Up in Commemoration of the Tenth Anniversary of the U S S R. The Shanghai Police Allege that This Illumination and Decoration Incited the Mob of Whites to Violence, But Similar Illuminations Have Been Used on the Soviet Consulate in Previous Years Without Incident.

American, British, Japanese and other Consulates. If the authorities of the Settlement are to justify their tenure, they are forced to extend all the protection which may be necessary in crises of this kind. Furthermore when the Settlement authorities permit or wink at propaganda or seditious activities directed at particular nationalities, temporarily not in the good favor of the ruling authority, they are playing with fire for there is no telling when the political wind may change. The authorities of the International Settlement make claim before world public opinion of their legal and moral right to control and administer this Settlement, but these claims must be backed up by deeds and the Settlement authority must always be above reproach on the charge of favoritism. Furthermore it must consider the interests of this Settlement alone as an independent entity divorced from European politics. We fear that there are sound grounds for belief that the Settlement authority has failed on these vital grounds, which leads to the proposition that the time has practically arrived for the Powers to move in the direction of a reorganization of the government here, otherwise Shanghai may be faced with a debacle which may stir the entire world and result in a loss of Western prestige in the Orient which may be most difficult of recovery.

As a fitting conclusion to this discussion we reprint herewith a letter which a prominent American business man contributed to one of the local newspapers on the day following the attempted raid on the Soviet Consulate:

"Dare we still call this the "Model Settlement"? That yesterday's foul outrage should have been permitted to occur has cast a nasty slur upon the character of the city's administration, and created a feeling of uneasiness which it will take long to dispel. It would have been bad enough if the disturbance had been wholly unexpected, but it has been for long public knowledge that certain White Russians of the baser sort were advocating violent action against their Consulate, and considering how many White Russians there are on the Police Force there can be no denying that they were aware of what these hooligans were contemplating.

"It says little in favor of our police administration that ample precautions to prevent the disgraceful incident were not taken, for it cannot be gainsaid that the people of the Soviet Consulate are as much entitled to protection of their lives and property as any other citizens. We have unruly and disorderly elements amongst the Chinese, and the laxity of the police yesterday will almost certainly encourage them to follow the example of the Russian riff-raff whose claims to be called "White" are doubtful, for I believe they are mostly the scum of Harbin and other places in Manchuria and Mongolia.

"I am certain that the genuine White Russians of Shanghai would never countenance any such unlawful proceedings. If Chinese rowdies made a similar onslaught on some Consulate or public building the police would no doubt be rushed out to shoot, and there would be a repetition of the deplorable "May 30th" affair and its most unfortunate consequences. I am no supporter of Bolshevist principles, but I am in favor of law and order being upheld and maintained, and I hope the most searching inquiry will be made to discover who, however highly placed, was responsible for the negligence and failure to take suitable precautions to prevent this disgraceful occurrence taking place in a busy thoroughfare outside one of the principal hotels in which hundreds of persons' lives were imperilled during the riot."

Madame C. C. Wu Is Released

According to a report in the *North China Star* on Nov. 1, Madame C. C. Wu, wife of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Nationalist Government at Nanking, sent a personal letter to Pan Fu, Premier of the Peking Government, asking him to use his good offices in effecting her release. Mrs. Wu, who was visiting relatives in Tientsin was arrested by military agents of Marshal Chang Tso-ling about three weeks ago as she was about to return to Shanghai. She was at first held at the Tientsin police headquarters, but later was removed to the home of the Tientsin Commissioner of Foreign Affairs where she was detained. According to the reports from Tientsin, about two weeks ago Madame Wu was about to be released, but Gen. Chang Chung-chang, tupan of Shantung province, objected. It is reported that Pan Fu later sent an emissary to Tsinanfu to interview Gen. Chang Chung-chang, and as a result Madame Wu was released during the week. Madame Wu is a member of a prominent Chinese family in Hongkong.

Foreigners and The Good Roads Movement

The group of foreigners which assisted the Chinese teams in canvassing for new members for the National Good Roads Association has, at the request of the Chinese, decided to remain in existence as an advisory committee to the association. The foreign committee will suggest that at last one good road be built in Chinese territory around Shanghai.

Due to very strong opposition on the part of the anti-Chinese contingent of foreigners in Shanghai, the actual results of the efforts of the foreign team were not very encouraging. Only about thirty-five foreigners joined the movement, and the amount of money turned over to the association was only a few hundred dollars.

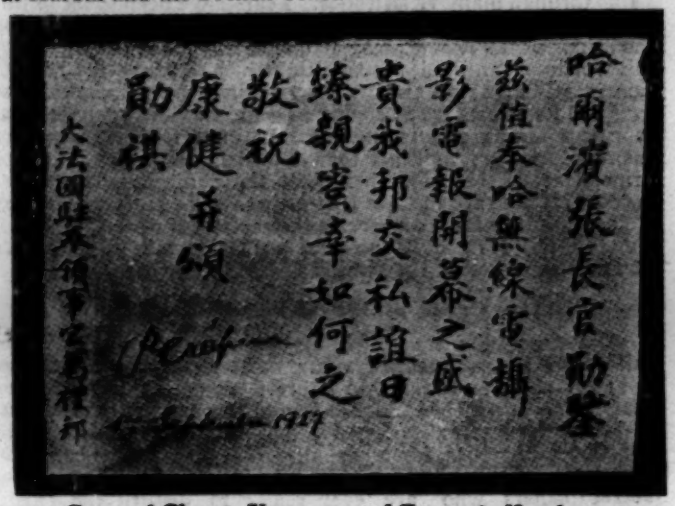
At the first meetiug of the group held at a tiffin at the Asto House a great many questions were asked about the purposes and accomplishment of the Good Roads Association.

A number of constructive suggestions were made at a small meeting held at the Peacock Orient Theatre in French Town on the evening of November 3.

Chinese Telegraph Administration Transmits Autographic Telegrams

Another striking evidence of the spirit of progress which is animating the governing officials of China was witnessed in Harbin September 1 when the Post and Telegraph Administration announced that it was prepared to accept autographic telegrams for transmission. Telegrams of this kind between Harbin and Mukden are sent by radio. The apparatus is based on the principle of the telautograph, exhibited by Gray at the World's Fair in Chicago in 1893. The system installed is that of Eduard Belin, as used in the French telegraph system.

The opening of the service in Manchuria was celebrated by an exchage of autographic messages between General Chang at Harbin and the French Consul at Mukden.



Autographic telegraph messages exchanged September 1 between General Chang Yuan-san of General Headquarters in Harbin and the French Consul in Mukden

Pan-Asiatic Conference Meets in Shanghai

A fairly successful, but rather stormy, series of conferences of the Pan Asiatic Society were held in Nantao, suburb of Shanghai, November 3 to 8. The Conference was two days late in starting owing to the late arrival of some of the delegates. Delegates were present from Japan, China, Korea, Afghanistan, Persia, India, Turkey and Siam. The first session warmed up on the subject of whether the delegates from Korea should be admitted, the question being raised by the Japanese. Mr. Imasato, the leading Japanese delegate presided at the first day's meeting. The Philippines and French Indo-China were the only countries not represented.

One of the outstanding figures in the Conference was Mahendra Pratrapp, an Indian revolutionary leader, who came from India to Tsingtao and then proceeded to Tsinanfu, hoping to come across country so as to avoid any possible interference from the British authorities. Turned back from the rail journey owing to the interruption of traffic incidental to the civil war in China, he came back to Tsingtao, and boarded a Japanese steamer to Woosung, whence he was safely "smuggled" up to Shanghai with the aid of Japanese friends.

The dominant figures in the Conference were the Japanese. The leader of the delegation was trained in the school of the late Count Okuma whose lifetime slogan was "Asia for the Asiatics."

In opening the session, Mr. Imasato, referred to the national awakening of China. He said he admired China's courage in throwing off the help of the Soviets and conductiug its own revolution. He said there were certain nations which made it their business to oppress the Asiatic peoples, and the attitude of the Asiatic people towards them should be one of lofty nobleness.

The question of racial equality was discussed at the first day's session. This matter was brought up by the Japanese, who strongly protested against any racial discrimination.

Racial Equality

The Japanese also brought up the question of the new British naval base at Singapore and the American naval base at Pearl harbor. The Japanese stated that their position was that all such bases in the Pacific should be abolished if there was any intention on the part of Europe and America to live in amity with Asiatic peoples.

Proposals were made by the Chinese delegation that the Japanese delegates should try to influence the Japanese government to discontinue encroachments in Manchuria and that Senator Borah, Bertrand Russell and Leon Trotsky should be invited to become honorary members of the Conference.

The second session of the Conference proved to be a stormy one. The Chinese and Indian delegates, led respectively by Hsi Ying, who is connected with the Kiangnan Arsenal at Shanghai, and Mr. Pratrapp, put it up to the Japanese that if they were really in accord with the spirit of Pan-Asiatic aims Japan should set an example for the foreign powers and clear their troops out of Manchuria, and should also generally adopt a more conciliatory attitude towards the Chinese. The ensuing uproar almost broke up the Conference.

The final session of the Conference held November 9 proved most harmonious. It was decided that the 1928 Conference should be held in Kabul, Afghanistan.

Missionaries to Western Lands!

The following resolutions were passed at the final session:

(1) The Conference accepts the principle that oppression in any and every form is wrong. Individuals and groups should have complete freedom to better themselves and serve humanity.

(2) With a view to humanity, the conference recommends that Asia, the cradle of religions, should send out religious missions to Europe, America, Africa, Australia and other countries to convert the people.

(3) With a view to humanity the Conference recommends unity among Asiatic nations so that they by mutua cooperation may defend themselves against wordly aggression

(4) With a view to better the condition of Asiatic nations the conference recommends better commercial relations among the different nations of Asia. And, as a first step toward that end, it shall approach men of business and shall persuade them to open import and export firms in Tokyo, Peking Hankow, Kabul, Teheran, Angora and other places for purely Asiatic trade.

(5) To promote unity among the Asiatic nations, the conference proposes to start an All Asia Educational Center. (a) to teach Asiatic languages, (b) to import higher technical education, (c) to give military training.

(6) The conference insists that the Committee of the Asiatic Association should establish a permenant headquarters of its own and to attain this end, a committee should be formed to collect funds and to buy or build within one year a suitable building worthy of the cause.

7 A permanent committee of the Asiatic Association should come in touch with all progressive movements in Asia and establish intimate relations with them.

8 The Asiatic Association should immediately start a weekly newspaper of its own, preferably in English or a page each in Chinese, Japanese, Urdu, Hindi, Persian, Turkish, Arabian and English.

9 The Conference accepts the principle that the regeneration of Asia is unthinkable without the salvation of China. The conference therefore recommends that (a) important military units clear respective grounds of all rebellious elements. (b) Imported centers of admministration send their representatives to meet at a designated place to conduct the foreign policy of China as a whole and try to build up civil institutions in the country. They should demand immediate suppression of extraterritorial rights, the complete control of the customs and the abolition of settlements

(10) The conference realizes that the situation in China cannot be improved without sincere cooperation of Japan and sympathy of Red Russia and America, there foreproposes that a committee be formed to secure cooperation with Japan and secure the sympathy of Russia and America.

Will the Chinese Revolution be Able to Succeed?

By Albert Y. Hugh

THE Chinsese revolution in its various forms has gone through many vicissitudes. Years have been spent in this necessary or unnecessary undertaking. Thousands and thousands of the best sype of manhood have been sacrificed for this worthy or unworthy cause. Rightly or wrongly, the revolution is still going on and its undertakings are as vigorous as ever,and its efforts are as strong as usual.In view of these great sacrifices, strong efforts and vigorous undertakings, what are the revolutionists fighting for? Do they have any aims or principles? If they do, then, will these aims or principles succeed? These are the questions that writers of present day Chinese politics must answer, if the try to get at the bottom of things at all. Now let us see what the Chinese are fighting for and then see whether they would be able to succeed or not.

The Cause of the Chinese Revolution

To trace the cause of the Chinese revolution in detail would be an intricate affair, so in a short article we are not attempting to do that. In a brief statement, we may say that the cause of the Chinese revolution has two phases, one is due to the internal oppression and misgovernement by the Manchu authorities for a period of more than two centuries together with a great mass of hungry folks and their numerous secret orders who are ever ready to disturb the social order whenever and whatever occasions may arise; the other is due to the external oppression of the Western Powers who come with their warships and artillery to trade with China and at the same time attempting to get other advantages from China either legally or illegally through negotiations, coercions, diplomacy, or war. These two phases of modern Chinese history have stirred up the Chinese to no small extent. So when opportunity comes a great reaction to these two types of oppression takes place. But in the course of this reaction or revolution, there are many minor or incidental problems coming up which block the success of the revolution. That is why the Chinese revolution, which started in 1911, up to the present time is still unsuccessful.

The Aim of the Revolution—Democracy

The cause of the revolution is also its aim to a great extent. The fundamental aim of the revolution is clearly set forth in Dr. Sun Yat-sen's "Sanmin", or "Three Democratic Principles. The three principles of democracy according to Dr. Sun are political democracy, social or racial demoracy, and economic democracy. These three principles are a fundamental summary of the researches and theories of modern political and social thinkers of Western countries. Dr. Sun's ideas of government are also traceable to Lincoln's theory of government "of the people, by the people, and for the people."

According to Dr. Sun, political democracy implies a good government with five functions, *viz.*, legislative, executive, judicial, examinatory (concerning civil service examinations) and supervisory functions. Then popular suffrage should be granted to all without distinctions of sex, race, religion or social standing. The people should also be given the right not only to elect their public officials. but also to supervise their public servants through the rights of the initiative. referendum and recall, and thus give them a chance to participate in the affairs of the country through direct action.

Social or racial democracy implies social and racial equality of every individual within the state without reference to social status or racial distinction. Under this category not only should everyone with in the state be treated with equality, but all the citizens of the Chinese Republic are considered as an oppressed race, as they are being treated unequally in the management of the world's affairs by the Imperialistic Powers, and so they should also struggle to free themselves from this unwilling oppression. At the same tim, all the races of the whole world should be treated wlth equal standing. It is only through this equality of races that hope of international peace and goodwill can be accomplished.

Economic democracy on the other hand implies a uniform system of land tenure and land value through a system of taxation similar to Henry George's idea of single tax and the modenrn principle of eminent domain and public condemnation; the limitation of private capital through legal procedure and taxation; and the solution of public economic problems through the large scale development of agriculture, industry and commerce in order to provide sufficient food, clothing material, comfortable housing, and efficient means for travel and also all modern facilities of comfort and conveniences for the people.

The above mentioned three principles together with the procedures or methods of carrying them out constitute the "Sanmin Doctrine" or the Three Principles of Democracy. As to the methods of carrying them out, Dr. Sun has offered three stages for their enforcement, viz., the military, the disciplinary and the constitutional.

The Enforcement of the Principles of Democracy

During the first or military stage, military force will be employed to suppress all reactionary elements such as the present day militarists, dissenters, local rowdies and depraved gentry as well as all exploiters and foreign imperialists. Besides the use of military force, propaganda will be used to the greatest extent in order to arouse the people to sympathize with the revolutionary movement. The purpose of this first stage in the political adjustment of the country is to unite the whole country under one political system—the "Sanmin System."

When the military stage is finished then the disciplinary stage begins. During the disciplinary stage local autonomy will be worked out through three minor stages, viz., the preparation for local autonomy, and the completion of provincial autonomy. During the preparatory stage a complete census will be taken of all the inhabitants on the districts, then all the land lying therein will be clearly and completely surveyed,the police system will be efficiently organized and the necessary highways constructed.

During the stage of the completion of local autonomy, the following program will be executed, viz., the masses of the people will elect their local legislators and officials to administer the political affairs of the district; the enforcement of the initiative, referendum and recall; the equalizing of land values through taxation, eminent domain, and the reversion of all unearned increments in land values to the state; the proper administration of public finance through receiving incomes from land yields, unearned increments in land values, productions of public properties, local forests, water power and mining interests, to be expended for popular education, old age pensions, charities, famine reliefs, public hospitals, and others; the development of the local natural resources; the determination of the burden of taxation of the local inhabitants toward the central government; the election of delegates through popular suffrage to organize a conference for the participation of political affairs of the central government. When all these have been accomplished, then local autonomy is completed.

Provincial Autonomy

During the provincial autonomy stage, the delegates elected from the various local districts will organize an electoral conference to elect a governor for the whole province in order to supervise all matters pertaining to provincial autonony. Then the next step in this stage would be the establishment of a system of balance of powers between the central and the provincial governments. The third step would be the recognition of the principle that the province is the connecting link between the district and the central government. When this is accomplished autonomy is completed. When complete provincial autonomy is accomplished then the disciplinary stage comes to an end and the constitutional stage comes into operation.

Before the completion of political adjustment of the whole country, the affairs of the country will be administered by a provisional government with five departments of executive, legislative, judicial, examinatory, and supervisory functions. The executive department will consist of eight ministries, viz., the ministry of the interior, the ministry of foreign affairs, the ministry of military affairs, the ministry of finance, the ministry of agriculture and mining, the ministry of industry and commerce, the ministry of education, and the ministry of communications. All these departments were to be under the direction and control of a provisional president according to Dr. Sun's original plan, but after his death the original presidential system has been changed to a committee system with a chairman as the chief executive.

A National Constitution

During the constitutional stage the legislative department will draft a constitution for the approval of the people's delegates coming from all parts of the country. When the people's delegates meet they will approve the constitution and then receive control of the political power of the country from the provisional president and his subordinate executives. The final step to be taken in this constitutional stage will be the election of a set of men according to the new constitution to administer the affairs of the country in place of the provisional members of the government. When this process is completed, then the provisional government dissolves and the formal government comes into existence. This completes the consttutional stage.

National Reconstruction

When the three stages of political adjustment will be completed, then the extensive reconstruction of the country will take place. National reconstruction in the future will simply mean the realization of Dr. Sun's three principles of democracy, which will include the reconstruction of agricultural villages, the reform of the living conditions of the farmers and laborers, protective labor legislation, legalization of trade unions, the extensive development of popular education, the reform of the educational system, the separation of education from politics, the abolition of all internal transit taxes like the likin, the enforcement of national tariff autonomy, the limitation of private monopolistic enterprises, the construction of large harbors for both ocean and coastwise trade, the upbuilding of productive enterprises of all sorts for the manufacture of food, clothing, and building materials, the extensive development of communication through the construction of railroads and highways, the extensive manufacture of transportation apparatus, the upbuilding of steel and iron works and ore refining plants, and other large scale enterprises for the manufacture of all other necessaries of life, the development of navigation, the irrigation of the great northwestern deserts and the colonization of the great northwest, and a large scale system of reforestration. As to the foreign policy of the new government under the three principles of democracy, it will be the abolition of the unequal treaties, the cancellation of extraterritoriality, and rejection of all other foreign interferences and infringements on Chinese sovereignty.

Will the Revolution be Able to Succeed?

Judging from what has been set forth in the last few paragraphs the Chinese revolutionists have a good cause to fight for. Now it would be worth while to see whether they could succeed in what they are trying to accomplish. However, we must make a clear distinction between military success and revolutionary success. Military success does not necessarily mean revolutionary success. The present militarists may be defeated, but new militarists will come up as quick as the old ones are being defeated. The success of the revolution means the accomplishment of what the Kuomintang is trying to accomplish—the three principles of democracy as enunciated by the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen.

Judging from existing conditions and practices, so far, the revolution is yet far from success although the Kuomintang may be able to win the war. The reason for this failure is due to the complexity of the elements inside and outside of the Kuomintang. The strong as well as the weak point of the Kuomintang is its liberalism in admitting new members into its ranks. The so-called success of the Kuomintang as well as its failures are due largely to this policy of liberalism in admitting new members.

The Enemies Inside of the Kuomintang

Inside of the ranks of the Kuomintang there are now imembers who were traditional enemies of the party. Besides the communists who are being ejected from the party there are still others who are just as obstructive to the enforcement of the party principles as are the communists. These men were mandarins, local rowdies, depraved gentry and reactionaries who stood out to block the success of the Kuomintang in former years and are now coming to join the party one by one either as single individuals or as members of secret orders or cliques. These men whom the Kuomintang was fighting against are now getting inside of the party line to draw the profits or spoils of the revolutionary success. It is indeed a great pity.

The revolution may go on, but the politicians will continue to get what they want. Politics is one thing and revolution is another. The two things may go together sometimes and at times they may separate. It is always the winning side that attracts the crowd and the speculators. As long as the revolution will continue to be successful in a military sense, then more new members will join the Kuomintang, but when its military influence begins to fade then the crowd will begin to disperse. During the last few months all the public inns, lodging houses, as well as hotels in Nanking were full of office seekers from all parts of the country, but as soon as the cannon sounds were being heard from across the river, a great exodus of these new comers took place much faster than they had first came.

Conditions at Nanking

Nanking was but an old fashion river port and very much undeveloped both industrially and commercially, but since the arrival of this great number of unexpected visitors the price of commodities and accomodations began suddenly booming up like a bubble. The cost of living at Nanking since the last few months has gone up more than three times its former standard. There is no doubt that when the Nationalist Government should move away or for other reasons the office seekers should leave the city, the price of commodities and accommodations would suddenly fall as fast as it has gone up.

These office-seekers are from all parts of the country, but particularly from Peking. The politicians and political speculators know no party lines or political divisions: as long as they can get political jobs they will go anywhere and will do anything.

Politics a Profitable Business

The reason why there are so many office seekers is simply because politics is about the most profitable business there is in China. Politics requires no capital, yet one can "get rich quick" through it. Besides pecuniary gain, one is rewarded with honor, fame and dignity. There are many who would sacrifice everything they have simply to get a taste of political life.

It does not matter that one has lost his political job at Peking, so long as he can find a new one at Nanking or elsewhere. The politicians in China are a shiftiny population, they can get along anywhere and with any political faction. They know no principles, except personal gain and honor. To them personal interest is above public welfare. They are admitted everywhere because the militarists need their assistance. Some of them are very influential because they can help the militarists to raise money at the expense of the people. It is not the militarists that are so destructive but the political fortune hunters, who are drawing big salaries, yet doing practically nothing.

The Newer Types of Politicians

Besides these politicians of the mandarin school there are newer and younger types inside of the Kuomintang who do not give us any better promise for the future. These younger types, some of them are not even graduates of middle schools, (some were even local rowdies,) are now holding very important positions inside of the party as well as other important public offices. Some of them are now party delegates, district magistrates, mayors of towns, heads of departments, and judges of courts. In view of this, what would be the consequences of their administration? In a later article, the writer will attempt to give a clear analysis of Chinese political psychology and its manifested consequences.

Judging from what has been said above, in a military sense the revolution may be able to succeed, but as to the actual accomplishment of Dr. Sun's Three Principles, the date of success seems quite remote. Regardless of principles or no principles, the politicians will always have their own way of doing things. They will do whatever is expedient to them, regardless of the success or failure of a certain cause. However, there is still a good sign ahead in view of these unsatisfactory tendencies.

The Good Sign of the Future

This good sign consists of the heroism of the age. The youths of Nationalist China are ever ready to give up their lives for what they believe to be right and just. They martyrize any man who gives his life for the revolution as an ideal person and a hero, thus encouraging heroism to no small extent. The Northern militarists are very much better equipped with artillery, ammunitions and other supplies, yet they are meeting reverses every time they come into contact with the Nationalists. The secret of success of the Nationalist cause is not its military eguipment but the heroism of its lower rank officers who are always willing to sacrifice their lives for what they believe to be a good cause. There is very little doubt that the hope of the future lies with these heroic youths.

MacMurray Tells Coolidge Business May Become Worse in China

John VanAntwerp MacMurray, American Minister to the Peking Government, conferred with President Coolidge on October 24, regarding conditions in China. According to a report in the *Japan Advertiser* on Oct. 28 referring to Mr. MacMurray's interview, the American Minister told President Coolidge that there is little prospect of improvement in business conditions in China and that economic conditions are likely to become still worse in the near future.

The report, which was by the *United Press*, stated that Mr. MacMurray told the President that figures available indicate hundreds of thousands of persons have lost their lives in China as result of a the continuous civil warfare between rival military cliques. He explained that, from some viewpoints, the deaths could not but be considered as of little loss economically as the Chinese nation must suffer a heavy death rate, to keep within its food supply. From a humanitarian viewpoints however, the continual warfare cannot but be considered a most horrible,

Chinese Christians Facing A Brighter Future

BY DR. FRANK RAWLINSON

CHINESE Christian experience is being rapidly articulated into a conscious reality. At the same time the old thought-patterns of China and the Christian church are breaking up in the minds of such Chinese leaders as make up the National Christian Council membership. Such leaders are resolutely facing a new future. Such are my chief impressions of the Faith Annual meeting of the National Christian Council of China, which took place in Shanghai October 13-20, 1927.

It was really a *China* Christian gathering. It thought in terms of a unified Chinese Church. This is natural in view of the fact that three-fourths of the delegates were Chinese. All but two of the officers—two foreign secretaries—are Chinese leaders known nationally. Every report to the Council and all but one or two of the main speeches were made by Chinese delegates. To carry on work for the ensuing year this meeting appointed seven commissions. All are under the chairmanship of Chinese Christians. For five years Dr. David Z. T. Yui, general secretary of the National Committee of Y. M. C. A. S. in China, has been the chairman of the Council. When nominated to succeed himself he demurred. But his continuance in this office was urged upon him with enthusiastic unanimity.

One would expect in such a meeting to gather hints as to the emerging Chinese Christian mind. I say "emerging" advisedly, for this was not a gathering which loaded its minutes with resolutions. It had a tentative mind. Its Chinese leadership was rather conservative than otherwise. It is taking time to dig deeply into the problems. Yet the discussions and plans for future work made it clear, as Dr. C. Y. Cheng, general secretary of the Council said in his closing speech, that this meeting disclosed the direction in which Chinese Christian experience will express itself. Indeed one felt that this was precisely what all the delegates were looking for. They were in an investigative and experimental mood. Detailed and dramatic programs did not stand out in their thinking. Only the experimental attitude can disclose the best ways whereby Christians may serve a China awaking under the spell of revolutionary aspirations.

No Strain or Tension

There was a marked absence of strain and tensity in this meeting. Dispassionate earnestness marked the discussions. Of course reference was made to China's now well-known political aspirations. Treatie and the treaty-status of missionaries received honorable mention. Chinese control of Christian institutions was also noted in passing. But none of these topics struck fire. This may have been due in part to the prevailing uncertainty as to how China's Revolution may be best carried forward. Christians have suffered much from the Nationalists. Some of them are conscious of the necessity of a new start. But I think it was due much more to a feeling that generally missionaries and Chinese Christians see fairly and are in the main of one mind as to the principles which must be applied to all these issues. Those being to a large extent recognized Chinese Christians can afford to wait their consummation and apply themselves more directly to the internal and immediate problems of the Christian Movement. Then these Chinese leaders being conscious that the destiny of the Council and to a large extent Christian work is now on their shoulders are on guard against impulsive decisions as to how the new situation should be met. The Chinese Christian leaders in this meeting showed no desire to run away with their job or break the bonds set up between them and western Christians. No one, therefore, seemed to have a program or set of ideas he wished to put over on anybody else. The fundamental motive of this gathering headed up in the successful search for a common Christian mind.

The present bond of Christian unity in China is that of a cooperative search for the contribution Christianity can make to an emerging new China. In all its work this meeting of the Council rose above disruptive issues. It recorded no far-reaching formulations. It also registered no breaks in fellowship. It did demonstrate the possibilities of a cooperative fellowship. It was in a real sense Chinese-church-centric. But it also moved within the larger bonds of an international cooperation.

Much time was spent discussing the Christian Message. This discussion was far above the plane of the fundamentalist-modernist controversy. There was a common desire to simplify and so refocus this Message. Creedal complexities and subtilties were laid aside. The delegates were united in the desire to make the personality of Christ the articulating point of their faith and effort. This relates the Christian experience to a life interest in personalities and their influence.

One of the major notes of the meeting was that of the insistent Chinese Christian desire for a fuller and visible degree of Christian unity. This, it is evident, means a freer cooperative fellowship centering in personal relationship and loyalty to the personality of Christ. It does not center in creedal uniformity or one all-embracing organization. The desire of Chinese Christians seems to be for a more dynamic fellowship demonstrated in and through cooperative relationships and activities. In short the Chinese Christian mind when it seeks to simplify the Christian Message aims to achieve this by centering the Christian heart on "Christ Himself" and demonstrating that concentration of faith and faithfulness in a deeper cooperative fellowship. Such, at least, is my impression. Christians in China tend to put their Message in terms of living relationships andvitalized experience and effort.

Religious Education

The second problem, given long and careful consideration, was that of religious education. There was a common mind that the critical point in all efforts and systems of planting religious ideals and aspirations in students is found in the personal relation of the teacher and the pupil. A dynamic personal influence is the chief agency in winning pupils to the acceptance of Christ as their Master and Friend. The problem of making religious instruction voluntary in accord with tendencies in China's educational plans was kept in mind. There was no attempt at a pronouncement thereon. Yet it was clearly recognized that the new registration regulations present a situation to be met rather than directly opposed. It is evident that many Chinese Christians desire to meet governmental wishes in this regard; though there is no absolute unaminity of opinion thereon either among Chinese Christians or missionaries. Just previous to the meeting of the Council the United Church of China held its first General Assembly. This body now includes about one-third of all Protestant Christians in China. Its decision on this problem is therefore of considerable significance and may well be referred to here. This Assembly voted to make religious instruction voluntary in middle schools and colleges but decided to request the government, or governments, concerned to permit of required religious instruction for the children of Christians in schools below those grades. In its discussions the delegates to the National Christian Council laid special emphasis upon the necessity of further development of the Sunday School as one way of meeting this situation. One could not but feel, however, that their general tendency was to meet the conditions being created rather than to seek to impose their own preferences. They sought a way to meet the situation in a patient and Christian spirit.

There was in one of the four sectional meetings some discussion of the general problem of religious liberty. It was announced that the Council is preparing a pamphlet on this topic. One had the feeling, however, that the whole problem of religious liberty in China is one that is being dug up by the roots and carefully scrutinized. There seemed no disposition in this meeting to pronounce for or against any particular definition of religious liberty. My own impression is that the Chinese mind is approaching it from a different angle than that in vogue in the West. There is, of course, a rising Christian desire that the ideal set up in the new constitution of China be achieved. There is also a recognition on the part of Chinese Christians that religious liberty, no matter how defined, is in danger in China though these aspects of the problem were not discussed in this meeting. It is, however, clear that the direction of the Chinese Christian mind is towards emphasizing the personal aspects of religious education rather than "requirements" or methods that seem compulsory.

The Younger Churches

The third subject which received special attention in this meeting was that of the relation of the older churches in the West to the young churches of China. It was recognized that the experience of the Chinese Church is young and perhaps, on the part of many of its members, still immature. That there is a Chinese Christian experience was made quite clear. Reference was made also to the high degree of correspondence between Chinese and Christian ethical ideals. This point of contact was recognized as a door through which other Christian ideas might fittingly enter the Chinese mind and life. In spite of its youthfulness the Chinese Churches have something to contribute to their older contemporaries. It was significant to note that generally speaking, the form this relationship will take is becoming most apparent in connection with Christian work in Canton where the revolutionary influences have been most strong and Christianity is older as years go. Several aspects of the future relationship between Chinese and western churches are there emerging in an encouragingly easy manner. Missions, it is expected, will be merged into the Chinese church bodies. Missionaries will come at the call of those Chinese Christian bodies, work under them and be appointed to their tasks by them. There was, however, a feeling that the National Christian Council should stimulate the organization of Chinese Christians in such ways

that they can pronounce on the coming of missionaries to China and outline more definitely than is now possible their tasks. It is quite clear that the Chinese Churches tend to move along the above lines. Everything possible must be done to increase the rising church-centric consciousness of Christianity in China. Missionaries will, of course, be on a basis of equality with Chinese Christian leaders. This standard of relationship was also seen up in the recent Assembly of the Church of Christ in China.

China and the West

As to the relationship of churches in China and the West the common mind was summed up as desirous of achieving "free cooperation" between them. That is the psychological and spiritual starting point for the new relationship now emerging. It is quite evident, also, that institutional and church work has passed under Chinese control though the Chinese delegates did not seem inclined to make much point of this fact. The Revolution of the past year has dislocated and disturbed much Christian work. The evacuation of missionaries has placed the responsibility for Christian work upon the shoulders of Chinese Christians and deepened their concern therefor in a striking way. A new and delicate balance between western and Chinese Christians has been set up which must not be upset. In this way the Revolution has pushed forward the Christian Movement in China. While definite and detailed plans for the conduct of Christian work did not roll easily or in any great numbers off the mind of the Council meeting yet one felt that nevertheless Christianity in China has come to a new starting point. Of course there is uncertainty on the part of some missionaries that these movements may go too fast for the "backward" churches. True enough. But it should be kept in mind that no one anticipates that these "backward" churches should be set free from external guidance. What is contemplated is that in some way they will all go under Chinese Christian guidance.

Among other things a new economic consciousness has been born in the hearts of China's peasants and laborers. The standard of a higher level of economic life has been mooted far and wide. In the fourth place, therefore, this meeting discussed at length the obligations of the Christian Church to China's social, industrial and economic needs and aspirations. There was some reference to the world's need for a Christian social order. The delegates, however, were not in a mood to stop and outline it. They were looking for a practical idealism. They sought, therefore, to find some concrete task that might show what such a social order involves. Special reference was made to the apprentice system, domestic servants, cooperative societies for farmers and improvement of agricultural conditions as fields in which the Christian community might well seek to apply definitely its principles. Bolshevism, Communism and other espoused new social orders were, it was stated, lacking in moral dynamic and ideals. Such moral ideals the Christian Movement should seek to amplify. In his closing address Dr. C. Y. Cheng plainly stated that Chinese Christians do not wish a special "social gospel" but an application of the whole Gospel of which social effort is an integral part and to which must be added mystical and spiritual emphasis. The investigative and experimental mood of the Council was at no point more in evidence than here. The committees appointed to apply Christian principles to social and economic problems are out on a search for those concrete tasks through which the ideals of a Christian social order might be built into visible realities. Thus did the National Christian Council of China show its determination to meet China's new demands for a better economic and spiritual life.

A frequent note heard during the meeting was the demand for the reorganization of the Council. This had not so much to do with its work and function as with the necessity of making it more directly and adequately representative of the Chinese Christian Church. It was the rising church-centric Christian consciousness trying to fit the Council to become a better agent for the expression of Chinese Christian experience and aims. A special commission was appointed to study the problem and put the desired reorganization into effect as soon as possible. It was not felt necessary to wait for the meeting of another general National Christian Conference before doing this.

The Council's Difficulties

Opportunity was given for the delegates to express themselves on the usefulness and effectiveness of the Council. This opportunity was freely used. From the many appreciative remarks one gathered that the Council serves to keep scattered and isolated churches in communication with the rest of the Christian Movement and thereby contributes vitally to the building up of Christian solidarity. Frequent appreciation was expressed of the way the Council had kept such churches in close touch with recent developments. The knowledge of what Christians were suffering in many places had helped to strengthen the bonds of Chinese Christian sympathy and fellowship. It was suggested, however, that the Council needs to pay more attention to the needs of rural churches and to prepare more literature of a simple type for the use of those Christians not in touch with the wider world.

The Council has had during its five years of life many and varied difficulties. That it has helped to bind the Chinese Christians together and stimulate much Christian effort is quite evident. It will of necessity change as conditions change. Its permanence as an agent for the expression of the common Christian mind in China and the articulation of united Christian effort is assured.

Shanghai, Nov. 3, 1927

Senator Bingham Hits Nordic Snobbery

(Literary Digest for October 15)

NOT only is United States Senator Hiram W. Bingham of Connecticut able to see the under dog's point of view—others have done that before him—but he is also willing to fly in the face of tradition and precedent by taking up the cudgels in defense of that much-abused animal. At a dinner given recently in his honor in Honolulu, his native city, by Gov. Wallace F. Farrington, of Hawaii, he fired this sensational broadside at his astonished fellow guests, as reported by the New York *Evening Post*: "I want to tell you right now that if a half-dozen of the prominent white people of Manila were to invite a few of the cultured and prominent Filipinos to be their guests at a tea, the agitation for Philippine independence would die right then and there!"

The world-wide social discrimination, not to say ostracism, that our Oriental brethren have so long patiently endured at the hands of the so-called superior race has been observed and accepted as a matter of course by generations of whites, the great majority of them men of kindly heart and decent feeling. But this has by no means been the case with Senator Bingham. With sorrow not unmixed with wrath he has seen the cynical attitude of superiority adopted by Caucasians of all classes toward the teeming millions of the Orient more or less directly under their control. To this openly expressed contempt of the white man for his brown and yellow contemporaries, camouflaged though it may be here and there by a show of affable condescension, he attributes much of the anti-American feeling to be found today in our island possessions, as well as the general dislike and distrust of the dominant race manifested in China and, in fact, throughout Asia. From long dwelling upon these, to him, highly dangerous conditions, the Senator was finally moved to speech, and we are told that his remarkably frank comments upon "white snobbery" roused his audience to enthusiastic approval.

Senator Hiram W. Bingham

"At the beginning of his talk," says the New York *Evening Post*, "which blazed with indignation over the insolence of the Nordic toward those he looks upon as his inferiors, Senator Bingham made the statement: 'I am, I believe, the only American representative of the government who has ever refused to enter the doors of the Army and Navy club in Manila!'" He then informed his hearers that during a recent visit to the Philippine capital he had been invited to be the guest of honor at this club, but had declined the invitation when, in reply to his query whether prominent Filipinos were to be present to meet him, it was explained to him "that no Filipinos were

permitted to enter the sacred portals" of that exclusive institution.

"Senator Bingham's talk was made," *The Evening Post* tells us, "before a group of men including territorial government officials, representatives of the municipal government, and men prominent in the business, industrial, and social life of Hawaii. It is safe to say they heard truths that few persons in Hawaii have ever dared to utter publicly." The article goes on to say that the Senator "prefaced his remarks with the statement that he had some things to say that might hurt, but he believed they ought to be said. And then he opened up and said them." He spared nobody, paying his respects alike to those who are openly after the almighty dollar, those "who use religion as a cloak" for their selfishness and greed, and "those supercilious whites who have the effrontery to go to the lands of the colored races and treat their native inhabitants with snobbish arrogance." *The Evening Post* then quotes an experience of the Senator's in Shanghai, which he cited to illustrate "the snobbery of the white man in his contacts with the Oriental." He had called upon a wealthy and highly respected Chinese in that city, a graduate of Yale, who happened to be an old friend. This man's wife had been educated, as had her daughters, in a first-rate girls' school in America, and the two sons of the family had also graduated from Yale. "The Chinese desired to cash a check for some $1,800 to meet his pay-roll for the week. Bingham accompanied him to the bank of the International Banking Corporation. The Chinese went to the paying teller's window and presented the check to the white cashier for payment.

"'What the h—do you mean coming in here?' snarled the gentlemanly Nordic. 'Get the h—out of here, you d—Chinaman, and go down to the other end of the building with the rest of the Chinamen!'* The Chinese made no reply, but quietly withdrew."

Later on in his address the Senator described a visit he paid to the parks of Shanghai—"parks on Chinese soil in a city where Chinese pay 60 per cent. of the taxes." In these parks he found himself confronted with signs reading: "No Chinamen or dogs allowed." He went on to tell of a conversation he had in Tientsin with another cultured Chinaman, also a graduate of Yale. He asked this man what was the real reason for the anti-foreign feeling in China.

"The eyes of the Chinese blazed, he said, when he replied that it was the insolence, the snobbery, and assumption of superiority of the white man, his insulting treatment of the Chinese on their own soil. 'Never,' the Chinese said, 'can there be friendship as long as the white race send men to China, whether missionaries or business men, who treat the Chinese like dogs.'"

"Turning then from the Orient," says *The Evening Post*, "to Hawaii, where he was born and raised, and whose people are his own people, Senator Bingham uttered the warning: 'There's beginning to be too much of that kind of thing right here!'"

Much has been said, and justly, about "the white man's burden," but what about the brown man's cross thus feelingly portrayed by Senator Bingham? Is not the alien brother stretched upon it largely because of the superiority complex engendered in us Nordics through the administration of far-flung empires? That the press of the country is sympathetic to this point of view may be gathered from current comment. For example, the New Haven *Journal-Courier* remarks:

"The Senator has said something which should sink deep into the consciousness of those who are responsible for the kind of men who are sent to the Orient, whether as missionaries or business men, and turn out to be inveterate snobs. That the practise on the part of the white men of treating their brown brethren with studied disdain leads inevitably to strained and bitter relations can not for a moment be questioned. We trust the Senator's observations will receive the widest possible circulation and comment. They find their support and orgin in the gospel of good manners."

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*Editor's Note:—In reference to Senator Bingham's statement regarding a case of discourtesy on the part of a member of the staff of the National City Bank (formerly International Banking Corporation) toward a Chinese, it is understood that the Shanghai branch, upon instructions from New York, is making an investigation of the incident and shortly may issue a statement. In reference to Senator Bingham's other statement regarding the sign, "No Chinese or Dogs Admitted" which he was quoted as having seen on the gate of a Shanghai Park, the Senator must have been misquoted, for no such sign exists at this time. A sign to this general effect once did exist at the entrance to the Bund Garden, but it was not as quoted by Senator Bingham. According to best available information the sign contained several sentences pertaining to park regulations, one of which was that no Chinese were permitted to enter the park, while another forbade the admission of dogs.

The S. M. R. Railway in Politics

BY J. A. J.

ALTHOUGH the semi-official *Manchuria Daily News* is singing the praises of J. Yamamoto, the new president of the South Manchuria Railway, there are many conservative Japanese in Manchuria who are watching with great concern the development ot the so-called positive policy of the Tanaka Ministry. This conservative element represents men of all walks of life and their views have unquestionably been transmitted home to those interested in the future of Sino-Japanese relations, including the political parties in opposition to the Government. Their argument is that this "positive policy" is fraught with dangerous consequences and that the platform of the Tanaka Ministry should undergo great modification. In the first place, it has been said that Baron Tanaka's determination is to do away with the Kwantung Government altogether, having the South Manchuria Railway Company assume control of the territory or, failing which, that the Kwantung Government is to become subservient to the Railway Company. Now, insist these conservative Japanese, this is putting back the hands of the clock with a vengeance. In other words, the Tanaka ministry proposed doing what even such a die-hard country as Britain had long since given up, namely the creation of a sort of "East India Company" and running the risk of bringing about all sorts of abuses of authority imaginable. So long as the Japanese Government has a legitimate hold upon South Manchuria, say these conservative sons of Nippon, so long should nothing be done to arouse the suspicions of China and the Powers, and such slogans as "Positive Policy" and "Outlet for Japan's Surplus Population" should be used with great care and, when used, should have clear meanings attached to them. As long as Japan is in Manchuria, the Kwantung Government should be in charge and the South Manchuria Railway should be subservient to the government instead of the government to the railway.

Anti-Japanese Feeling

That the "positive policy" is the cause of the present anti-Japanese ruling in Manchuria there can be no question. It is true that this anti-Japanese feeling no longer finds expression in the form of demonstrations as it did at first,—the authorities at Mukden having put them down,—but no amount of official suppression could ever suppress the thoughts of a people. The fears of these conservative Japanese are not ill grounded at all; as a matter of fact, they are very well grounded. The myth has been kept up hitherto that no matter what happens elsewhere in the country, Manchuria would never see much progress in the Nationalist movement, whereas, in the matter of anti-foreign outbursts they would always be conspicuons for their absence except as against Soviet Russia. It is true that there has not been that radical change in the thoughts of the students as there has been in the South, but it must be remembered that in the North all progressive movements have been looked down upon by those in authority. Such movements are invariably mistermed "Bolshevistic movements" and stern measures are sometimes resorted to in the suppression of student meetings. But, all the same, the students in Manchuria have,—so far as they have been able,—followed the trend of affairs in the South and have shown in various ways their sympathies for the Nationalist movement. No wonder, therefore, when Baron Tanaka came out with his "positive policy," the students in Manchuria, especially those at Mukden and Kirin, forthwith expressed their resentment and carried out demonstrations. In this case, the authorities at Mukden and Kirin let things slide a bit on purpose, desiring to impress the Japanese that they were capable of anti-Japanese outbursts in Manchuria as well. The Japanese have always taken it for granted that any anti-Japanese movement launched in Manchuria would be put down by the Chinese authorities but the Mukden and Kirin authorities were eager to prove that there was an anti-Japanese feeling in Manchuria, fraught with dangerous consequences including boycott possibilities. And the mere mention of the word "boycott" is sufficient to bring a shiver down the spines of the Japanese in Manchuria as we shall see explained later.

Chang Tso-ling's Position

Now, why should the Manchurian authorities be so anxions at this time to permit these student-demonstrations to go on unchecked for a while? The answer is not so far to seek. As a result of his precarious position in the winter of 1925 arising out of the Kuo Sung-lin revolt, Marshal Chang Tso-lin was compelled to appeal to the Japanese for aid and the latter agreed to assist in "downing" the revolt on various conditions, including concession of territory on the Manchuria side of the Yalu ("in order to keep a check on Korean malcontents crossing the river," as the Japanese said, but in reality to tap the timber and other resources) and extension of Japanese railway and mining rights in South and North Manchuria. Chang Tso-lin

in those days of a tight fix would do almost anything to preserve his fast—crumbling Empire, not to mention his own skin, and consequently gave in to the Japanese and the latter then poured troops and high-caliber guns into South Manchuria ostensibly for the purpose of protecting Japanese interests in that territory. Tokyo was, of course, in high glee and the only thing that prevented them from bringing out the flags was the oft-repeated declarations of Baron Shidehara that Japan's policy *vis-a-vis* China was one of absolute non-interference. Astute as the Japanese were, Chang was astuter. He had figured it out for himself, at the height of the Kuo Sung-lin revolt, that beggars mustn't be choosers and that he could later on ignore his promises to the Japanese, relying upon that good old horse, "Non-interference," to pull him out of the ditch. And it worked! Tokyo, wild with rage, was impotent. Baron Shidehara could not, after all, justify any punitive expedition against Chang Tso-lin after all he had said in respect of "non-interference." And Chang, wild with joy over being able, for the first time, to fool the Japanese, began to ride the high horse and commenced to harbor notions as to his ability to paddle his own canoe in future. Therefore, the foundation of the quarrel between Mukden and Tokyo is really the Kuo Sung-lin revolt which the Japanese rendered unsuccessful although officially Tokyo has always denied having taken a hand in it. Unofficially, however, the Japanese have admitted having crushed the revolt. Japanese residents in Manchuria have in recent months bemoaned the "inability of the Chinese to show gratitude for benefits received," whereas, on the other hand, the Chinese have reiterated that the Japanese "always claim too much for a little service rendered." It will, consequently, be seen that, unoffically, both sides admit that the Japanese *did* assist Chang Tso-lin in December 1925 to quell the Kuo Sun-lin revolt. Had it been successful, the revolt would have radically altered the Chinese political situation and to-day, instead of functionning as Dictator at Peking, Marshal Chang would have found it expedient and healthy to seek sanctuary in Japan, to which country, during the campaign against the Kuominchun, he had transferred a huge sum of money.

Chang's Dilemma

It is, of course, unfair and not strictly in accordance with the facts to charge Chang Tso-lin with ingratitude. The Japanese held back until the last minute in order to terrorize the Marshal to the fullest extent as to the critical position he was in. Things came to such a pass that, in order to flee from the enemy who was at the very gates the inhabitants of the native city came pouring into the Japanese railway area at Mukden, and all available accommodation was taken up. People bundled together by the dozens in dingy rooms, paying as much as ten yen for the privilege of a night's shelter. One cabaret closed up its regular business and sold space on its dance floor! And into the Japanese railway area also came the wives and concubines and children of Chang Tso-lin and high Manchurian officials. All this could have been prevented. The Marshal could have sat tight in his palace and told the Japanese, "I am in a bad fix, it is true, but all the same I am going to see this thing through myself, you need't worry yourselves unduly over me." And the Japanese would have done the same thing that they did anyhow in order to safeguard their interests:—

Transportation	Yen 300,000,000
Trade	15,000,000
Industry	74,000,000
Agriculture	19,000,000
Mining	8,000,000
Marine	15,000,000
Advances by Banks	626,000,000
Real Estate	150,000,000

Japan had butted in so often in the past in the affairs of the Chinese nation on the pretext of protecting Japanese interests that it should have been clear to Chang Tso-lin that she would butt in in this case also. However, the Marshal still has the satisfaction of knowing that he "played a mean one" on Tokyo at the expense of poor Baron Shidehara who must still be smarting under it. And now, in order to make up for lost time, Baron Tanaka has come out into the open with his "positive policy."

In the spring of 1926, Chinese traders and others along the Yalu became alarmed over certain leakages of official secrets in respect of concessions promised the Japanese in case of Kuo Sung-lin revolt. In Antung deputations called upon the Taoyin and the Japanese Consul to ascertain what it was about. The latter made a rambling statement,—most non-committal,—but the Taoyin was emphatic: "Nonsense, I can tell you,—they are *not* going to get anything out of *us*!" The Manchurian authorities very soon commenced to stiffen up against the Japanese. Every effort was made at Harbin to oust the *yen* from circulation in the money market. General Chang Huang-hsiang caused detectives and sentries to be posted at the entrance of banks and exchange shops to stop people from converting their Chinese holdings into Japanese or *vice versa*. The foreign banks protested against this embargo upon the *yen*, claiming that its withdrawal, all of a sudden, would upset the financial market, in Manchuria. The Japanese likewise took up a very strong attitude. In Mukden, the refusal of the Chinese authorities to permit goods from the Japanese Railway Town to cross the boundary into Chinese territory without first being taxed caused quite a furore and resulted in undiplomatic tactics being indulged in on both sides. The Japanese eventually forced their goods through with the assistance of the "Mukden Fascisti," and Consul-General Yoshida and his countrymen prattled on *Bushido* and *Yamato Damashu* and, generally speaking, virtually attempted to dictate to the Chinese what they should or should not do! Then, too, both sides became embroiled in troubles over the *fengpiao*—Chang Tso-lin's white elephant currency—and the Chinese persisted in the arrest of employees of Japanese exchange hongs. Chang Tso-lin, in an effort to maintain the *fengpiao*, adopted the extraordinary method of chopping off the heads of exchange brokers. All these "independent actions" as they termed them, puzzled foreigners in Manchuria a great deal, accustomed as they have been to the spectacle of a meek Chang being led by the nose by his Japanese mentors. But Chang has awakened! Having now once again established his security, he has made up his mind to paddle his own cause and only drag in the Japanese as a final recourse.

The Chinese claim that the present eruption of anti-Japanese feeling in Manchuria is due to the overbearing attitude of Japan since the suppression of Kuo Sung-lin. The Japanese argument, as set forth by the *Japan Times*, the organ of the Japanese Foreign Office is that "the unrest shows itself in many ways; in the projection of railway schemes inimical to the interest of the South Manchuria Railway, and in conflicts in the consular areas where the Japanese consular police are an institution generally not welcomed by the local Chinese authorities but are considered absolutely necessary for the safety of Japanese consuls and communities....Japan has been fortunate, during the past 20 years of beneficient rule in the Manchurian area, to escape the agitation and confusion of government that has brought disaster to South China, but it is now evident that disruptive elements are active in the Three Eastern Provinces....Chang Tso-lin may live to see his provinces taken from his control." Isn't that a clear enough warning for you? A Chinese warlord is warned in no uncertain terms that unless he learns to behave himself (towards the Japanese) he would run the risk of having his provinces taken away from him (by the latter) and turned over to someone else who would. There is no doubt but that the recent demonstrations at Mukden had been "stage-managed" by the authorities, whose argument would seem to be that if the South could have achieved so much through the stage-management of "anti-foreign demonstrations" there should be no reason why the same could not be achieved by the North!

The Railway Problem

General Yang Yu-ting explained to Mr. Yoshizawa that the railways built and projected are intended not only for commercial purposes but for strategic reasons. It is necessary that Manchuria should possess a railway system that could take care of any military menace from the Soviet side. It was brought home to Mr. Yoshizawa that it was impossible to rely upon the Chinese Eastern Railway because the notorious Mr. Ivanoff had clearly demonstrated the futility of relying upon this railway. The Russians in the employ of the Chinese Eastern—excepting those employed by the Chinese side—are all Soviet citizens and Soviet citizens, declared General Yang Yu-ting, have peculiar ideas in regard to international relations. But the Japanese, no matter how much they themselves may value strategical reasons, are not likely to appreciate fully the contentions of General Yang or, having appreciated them would not care to acknowledge them. So long as they themselves have the South Manchuria Railway, and so long as they are capable of defending it, they would not give a continental for *Chinese* strategical reasons. Mr. Yoshizawa suggested most strongly that these new railways, built, building and projected, could be run under Sino-Japanese auspices, but General Yang Yu-ting declared this would reduce the railways to a purely commercial basis: for the Japanese side would put stumbling-blocks in the way of troop transportation. Here the matter of the railways stand at the time of writing and it would be interesting to watch the outcome of the recent visit of J. Yamamoto, the new president of the South Manchuria Railway Company, to Dictator Chang Tso-lin at Peking.

As has been remarked in the early part of this article, the mere mention of the word "boycott" is sufficient to bring a shiver down the spines of the Japanese in Manchuria. The average foreigner has little notion that except for the South Manchuria Railway Company and kindred organizations, the Japanese business firms in Manchuria are composed of little one, two or three-men affairs, with small resources at the back of them. Collectively, the amount of their total capital

(*Continued on page 272*)

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Japan's Present Policy Toward China

(Reprinted from the Japan Chronicle)

DISCUSSING in the *Kaizo* for November Japan's economic policy regarding Manchuria and Mongolia, Dr. Horiye Kiichi, a well-known economist, begins by summing up the distinctive features of the China policies pursued by the Okuma, Terauchi and Hara Ministries. The Okuma Ministry, he says, forcibly demanded of China the signature of a treaty based upon the so-called Twenty-one Demands. It was too undisguisedly militaristic and aggressive not to offend China and the other Powers interested deeply, especially as the action was taken, after the manner of one fishing in troubled waters, when the European Powers were preoccupied with the war and had no energy to spare for China and the demands were enforced against the helpless China by means of an ultimatum that threatened military action. The negotiations leading up to the Sino-Japanese Treaty exposed Japan's designs upon China and showed how her greed for territorial expansion was as intense as that of Germany before the Russo-Japanese War. The feelings of Britain and America which the action aroused against Japan may perhaps have been mollified, but Chinese resentment, so far from having mitigated, grows more acute as time goes on. The Terauchi Ministry, which succeeded the Okuma, was not so blunt in its dealings with China as its predecessor had been, but its efforts were concentrated on extending Japan's influence in China by means of loans. Taking advantage of the fact that with the war still going on in Europe, China could get supplies of money from Japan only, the Japanese authorities got into close alliance with Chinese statesmen like Tuan Chi-jui and Liang Shih-yi, and granted large loans to China in consideration of concessions of various kinds acquired by way of "security." At Peking, where I happened to be staying at the time, I was scandalised to see many men purporting to be acting under the instructions of Count Terauchi and military officers under the same General going about among the Chinese grandees and behaving themselves as if they were in charge of Japan's diplomacy. From their remarks it appeared that as Japan's economic influence extended in China she was going to send troops to various places of vantage in China on the pretext of protecting her economic interests and to undertake the training of Chinese soldiers so that she might satisfy her territorial ambitions through military as well as economic channels. The idea was all crude and infantile, but it was none the less seriously entertained. When the next Ministry under Mr. Hara came into power, however, it announced non-interference to be the key-note of Japan's China policy and endeavored to remove the impressions created by the aggressive policy pursued by its predecessors during the earlier years of the World War.

Japan's Special Position

Throughout all these ministerial changes, however, Japan's special position in Manchuria and Mongolia was consistently emphasised and sustained effort was made to have that position recognised by the Powers concerned. The claim is based on the contention that, having expended hundreds of millions of yen and lost over 10,000 lives in the wars with China and Russia, waged with the object of placing Korea and Manchuria under her influence, Japan is entitled not only to possess Korea, but to keep Manchuria under her influence; that in order to ensure the living of this nation, it is desirable that Mongolia—a country adjacent to Manchuria—should also come under the same influence; that Manchuria and Mongolia are also places whence she can conveniently get supplies of raw materials and foodstuffs and where room can be found for her surplus population. All this is perfectly plausible, for despite all that is said about a nation not needing a large territory in order to lead a prosperous life, the prosperity of a landless nation that lives purely by commerce or on sightseers is passive and devoid of a firm basis, depending as it does on the activities of other nations. For a state to be firmly founded it is essential that it should have adequate territory or, in default of adequate territory, opportunity to extend its influence in undeveloped lands belonging to other Powers. It would be another question if there was no restriction on import and export trade all over the world, with complete freedom of emigration, in which case a lack of territory and spheres of influence would be no great trouble. The Manchester School was perfectly consistent when it advocated an extensive application of Free Trade while it deprecated the aggressive extension of territory. But when will a complete freedom of trade and emigration be established all over the world? For some time indeed a body of opinion has existed in favor of free trade, this being evidenced by the attitude of the recent Economic Conference at Geneva, but it is doubtful when such opinion will be carried into execution on any extensive scale. So if Japan, with her limited territory and scanty natural advantages, does not content herself with being merely a commercial nation, he must have countries where she can get her materials and find a market for her manufactured goods. This is why Korea was annexed to Japan after all the troubles experienced since the advocacy of the conquest of Korea that agitated the political world in this country in the early years of Meiji, Though there is no gainsaying but that the Japanese administration of Korea is by no means heartily acquiesced in by the Koreans, yet Korea is serving Japan's purposes as supplier of foodstuffs and raw materials. As for Manchuria and Mongolia, they may afford some room for Japanese settlers along the railway lines, but their real value to Japan consists in their being suppliers of raw materials such as wool, cotton, lumber and so on.

Militaristic Diplomacy

"Japan's special position in Manchuria and Mongolia" is an expression which is constantly in the mouth of Japanese publicists, and it forms the basis on which they want their country's policy regarding those regions to be determined. If the expression means that Manchuria and Mongolia occupy a special position in schemes for making the economic life of the Japanese complete, we have nothing to say against it. But when the term is used in this country, more especially in certain quarters in this country, a certain military and political significance attaches to it in many cases. In the Russo-Japanese negotiations regarding Russia prior to the Russian War, for instance, it was the essential object of Japan to have her special position recognised, and seeing that an insistence on Japan's special position in Korea in course of time developed into the complete annexation of Korea, serious suspicions arise in China and other Powers interested in Manchuria and Monogolia concerning the ultimate outcome of Japan's effort to have her special position in Manchuria and Mongolia recognised. The Seiyukai Ministry, under the late Mr. Hara, declared itself in favor of a policy of non-interference in China, and it really did not meddle with Chinese affairs, with the result that under that Government the relations between the two nations were comparatively satisfactory; but now that the Seiyukai is under the leadership of General Tanaka, things are very different. A member of the military clique by origin, and intent on maintaining his political prestige with the military clique at his back, the General is tempted to determine his foreign policy according to the suggestions of the military clique. He wants to aid the Chinese military factions, Chang Tso-lin's more especially, and through their influence to make the situation of affairs in China develop in Japan's favor. Unlike the Kenseikai Ministry, wedded to a negative policy, the present Seiyukai Ministry is bent on trying a positive policy in regard to Manchuria and Mongolia. It is further understood that if Baron Tanaka holds the portfolio of Foreign Minister in addition to that of Premier, despite his inexperience in diplomacy, it is because the arrangement is more suited for carrying on militaristic diplomacy. But what are the positive measures which the Tanaka Government is going to adopt in regard to Manchuria and Mongolia? So far nothing definite has transpired But the dispatch of troops to Manchuria on trivial pretexts and an attempt to monopolise economic concessions with the South Manchuria Railway for the basis of operations may be regarded as indications of the positive policy.

Inconvenient Open Door

To believe that a nation cannot hope to effect economic developments in an undeveloped foreign land unless the latter is controlled politically and militarily is a mistake which militarists are apt to fall into and if the Seiyukai, because it happens to have a militarist for its President, is going to carry this mistaken view into effect it will be a great disadvantage to the country. It is certainly a serious drawback

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may amount to $15,000,000 (Mexican) but individually it is doubtful whether the average capital exceeds $20,000. It is quite evident that little organizations like these would not be able to weather the storm of an anti-Japanese boycott and it is certain when the conservative Japanese in Manchuria discuss the dangerous possibilities attaching to the "positive policy" of their present ministry, they have this in mind. The trouble with Japan is that there is not a real, strong, independent press in that country that could guide Japanese public opinion. The average impression of the Japanese is that the Chinese are a peculiar bunch of people, for ever at each other's throat; that Manchuria belongs to Japan and Chang Tso-lin on a fifty-fifty basis—or is it really 51% Japan's and 49% Chang Tso-lin's?—and that when it comes to butting in ("for the protection of Japanese interests") Baron Tanaka's "positive policy" means that Japan would go in and spank the Chinese, as Mr. Silas Strawn would say, the moment Tokyo sees fit.

Dairen, October 24.

for Japanese industries that they are dependent on foreign countries for most of the requisite raw materials. In order to remedy this defect to some extent, it is urged by some people that Japan should possess some foreign regions which are conveniently situated for easy intercourse with this country and where Japanese business men may freely invest and operate—requirements which Manchuria and Mongolia are believed to fulfil admirably. "Open door" and "equal opportunity" are expressions which were coined in Britain and America against Russia's aggression and exclusivism in regard to the Far East. But a body of opinion exists in this country that while nations full of wealth and training like Britain and America can afford to follow so free and open a policy, things are different with a country like Japan whichis wanting in these qualifications and it is necessary for such a country to establish a monopolistic influence in some undeveloped country to the exclusion of others. In order to attain the object in view, territorial aggression is advocated by those who are most extreme in their views, and even others who are more moderate believe that it is essential that Japan should enter into an economic alliance with China.

Economic Alliance

But territorial aggression is impracticable in these days when Pacifism is in such vogue throughout the world and the Powers are all for free and equal relations with China and for fair competition so that each may pursue its advantage to the full. That the mere fact of the Tanaka Ministry having declared itself in favour of a positive policy has seriously ruffled the feelings of America, Russia and others even before any particulars of the policy have been learned should suffice to show that Japan cannot hope to indulge in any design on Chinese territory unless she is prepared to risk the hostility of all the Powers concerned and fight China. If so, is the scheme of an economic alliance between Japan and China more feasible than the idea of taking military action under the guise of a positive policy and forcing an economic drive with troops in the background? By its advocates the Sino-Japanese economic alliance is meant to imply, first of all, the recognition of Japan's special position in Manchuria and Mongolia and her right to control the economic situation in these regions; and it must include preferential arrangements for trade between Japan and China such as:

(1) The preferential supply to Japan of raw materials produced in China, especially those produced by means of Japanese capital;

(2) Japan to be consulted first when it is proposed to contract foreign loans in order to increase the supply of natural materials produced by means of Japanese capital;

(3) National materials imported from China to Japan to be free of duty as a rule, while natural materials of the same kind imported from other countries are to be subject to suitable duty;

(4) When China imports manufactured goods from Japan, import duty to be remitted altogether or levied at a rate lower that on goods of the same kind imported from countries other than Japan.

But on what principles are the commercial treaties with foreign countries made by China and Japan? They are made on the principle of preventing any one country from enjoying special privileges which are not shared by others, this being particularly the case with treaties with China which is looked upon as a natural treasure-trove by foreigners, who are all anxious to have free access to it and make an exclusive property of it.

Some Difficult Questions

The whole idea finds expression in the two principles of open door and equal opportunity which are followed by the Powers in regard to China and also in the most favored nation clause whose unconditional application forms the basis of all the commercial treaties of China and Japan. So long as this latter clause is not eliminated from their commercial treaties, it will be impossible for Japan and China to enter into an economic alliance based on preference. Even supposing that it is practicable for the two nations to effect the necessary elimination and enter into the desired alliance with each other, it is doubful whether it will accrue to the common advantage of the contracting parties.

(1) Will it be possible for Japan to get from China exclusive supplies of raw materials, including those which she has so far been in the habit of getting from other countries?

(2) Will it be practicable for Japan to an extent to which it will be necessary to develop China's natural resources in order to bring the above result about?

(3) Will not the combined disregard by China and Japan of the principles of open door and equal opportunity respecting China call forth some measures of retaliation on the part of he other powers?

(4) Even supposing that China agrees to give preferential treatment to Japanese manufactures, will it be practicable for Japan to supply manufactured goods in sufficient quantities to meet China's needs and at prices suited to Chinese consumers? Will it not be more advantageous to China to get supplies of manufactured goods not only from Japan but from other countries as well?

(5) However convenient the arrangement under which China is to supply Japan with raw materials and Japan supply China with manufactured goods may be to Japan, assuring Japan as it will of the supply of raw materials and the disposal of manufactured goods, will China remain indefinitely contented with being the mere supplier of materials? It she should take it into her head to make the goods she requires, the economic alliance will be shaken from the foundations.

Tanaka's Positive Policy

It has to be admitted that Manchuria and Mongolia occupy a special position in regard to Japan's economic existence, but that is no reason why Japan should or may take such action as the Tanaka Ministry's positive policy is supposed to imply. While it is unknown exactly what the co-called positive policy means, it would appear that its essential features consist in:

(1) Discarding the negative policy so far pursued and extending Japan's concessions in Manchuria and Mongolia;

(2) Encouraging the activities of Japanese business men on the basis of those concessions;

(3) Protecting such interests by military force according to circumstances; and

(4) Promoting the advantages of certain Chinese politicians in Manchuria and Mongolia and making use of their influence in Japan's favor.

But this is nothing but economic imperialism in disguise. It might have been carried out to some extent in days when the Chinese were not very sensitive to foreign aggression. But now even a colony cannot be forced to remain an agricultural country and supplier of raw materials to its own mother country indefinitely, much less an independent country like China. Some years back China forbade the intervention of foreign capital in iron-mining and restricted the export of iron ore—no doubt in the belief that it would be more profitable to be manufacturers rather than suppliers of raw materials. When the economic ideas of the Chinese are so advanced, it is clear that the advocacy and enforcement of a positive policy such as contemplated by the Tanaka Ministry cannot have results other than arousing the antipathy of the Chinese people for Japan.

A Commonplace Suggestion

What is then to be the basis of Japan's economic policy towards China? In answer we have only a very commonplace suggestion to make, and that is that while Japan may derive profits from the investments and labor involved in her business enterprises in China, care should be taken to give employment to Chinese clerks and coolies as much as possible so that the Chinese may have a fair share in the profits. When the benefits are mutual, the Chinese are too moderate a people to find fault with Japanese enterprises in their land. So far, Japanese undertakings have been conducted too exclusively by Japanese from the top to the bottom of the ladder. What is particularly objectionable in the Tanaka Ministry's positive policy is that it places too great reliance upon the personal influence of Chang Tso-lin. In view of his position as Generalissimo and his influence in Shantung as well as in Manchuria, co-operation with him would at first sight appear convenient and advantageous. But if Chang should do any act that might savor of a grateful return for the favors done him by the Japanese military clique, with which he is undoubtedly in intimate relations, the whole Chinese people would be against him as a traitor to his country, so that it would be impossible for him to do anything for Japan. Some people may hope that he will be able to give practical proofs of his goodwill towards Japan before things go to such extremes, but that such expectation is also vain has been demonstrated by the fact that he could not prevent an anti-Japanese boycott being started even in the provinces directly under his influence. The policy of basing the country's China policy on the influence of a single Chinaman is the most foolish of foolish policies. It was experimented with Tuan Chi-jui—always with the same ill-success.

China Following Japan's Example

In this connection a word may be said about China's economic policy towards Japan. There are two points in which that policy threatens to be unfavorable to Japan. First there is a tendency to restrict the export of foodstuffs and raw materials out of a desire to keep them at home. Second, an anxiety is in evidence to keep out foreign goods with a view to encouraging home industries, this being illustrated by the restriction on the shipment of rice and iron ore, and there is danger of a similar restriction being extended to other articles of merchandise. The first of these difficulties is perhaps in-

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"Anti-Foreignism and the China Political System"

A Review By J. D. Monro of "The Origin and Development of the Boxer Movement," by George Nye Steiger, Ph. D. Yale University Press, 1925. Price, $9.50.

"The literature upon the Boxer outbreak comprises more than a hundred volumes in European languages besides articles and reports of government bureaus".

These are the sources which Dr. Steiger claims to have drawn upon in this scholarly research work of his. It would have been very interesting if he could also have consulted some of the original Chinese records and received, in addition to encouragement from a number of noted American University professors, confirmation for his conclusions from a few leading Chinese authorities, since his conclusions are of a sort which go to the very basis of Chinese life and government.

Dr. Steiger's aim—or rather, the inevitable result of his researches—is to expose the "fictions" which, during the last quarter of a century, have been advanced as explanations of the Boxer outbreak. "Even the later writers", he says, "have been equally unsatisfactory in their explanations of the causes which led to the Boxer outbreak. By the time these later books appeared, the assembled diplomats at Peking had put the seal of official approval upon a formula which satisfied the diplomatic necessities of the case. According to this formula, the movement was a rebellion; thus it was possible, while assessing China with an indemnity of 450,000,000 taels, to hold the Empress Dowager innocent of all blame for what had taken place, and restore her to her position at the head of the Chinese Government. The outbreak was not "(so Dr. Steiger affirms)" the climax merely of the series of events precipitated by the German occupation of Kiaochow in November, 1897, or even of those consequent on China's defeat by Japan in 1894-1895; it was the culmination of the four centuries of relationship between the nations of the West and those of Asia, and had its origins in the essential differences between the civilization of the "Old East" and that newer civilization which was being brought to its doors by Europe and America". Any satisfactory study of the resultant furious outbreak against Western domination must go back of these liberating causes and must consider those characteristics of the Chinese state and of Chinese society which had made China so impervious to Foreign innovations".

The Ineptitude of the Diplomats

The essential interest of Dr. Steiger's work is not his account of the events leading up to the Protocol of Peking of September, 1901, valuable though that be as a clear and impartial collection of records, but his consideration of "those characteristics of the Chinese state and of Chinese society" to which he refers in the above passage. His treatment in Chapter I of "The Chinese State and Western Relations" is a symposium, and obviously so, very sweeping, rather in the manner of Mr. T'ang Liang Li's recent book "China in Revolt", yet attractive and comprehensively informing with its ambling gait, and relieved by its being centred round the particular theme of the whole book. Another description of that theme might well be given as "Anti-Foreignism in China". In dealing with this theme, it is the Boxer outbreak which brings Dr. Steiger's theories to the point of crystallization:—

"The efforts of the diplomats at Peking to secure satisfactory government action against the Boxers were marked by ignorance or misunderstanding with regard to every important factor of the situation. Perhaps their most essential error lay in a total misapprehension as to the nature of the Chinese Government and the powers which it legally possessed. The traditional belief that the Chinese Emperor was clothed with autocratic and unlimited authority led the diplomatic body to make demands whose fulfilment lay outside the actual competence of the government. When those demands were not fulfilled, recourse was had to ultimatum—supported by naval demonstrations and other displays of force—in the effort to compel compliance. Almost equally important was the error in regard to the nature and causes of the disturbance. Ignoring the many outstanding causes for popular hostility toward foreigners, the diplomats accepted the erroneous report that the I-Ho-Chuan (Boxers) was primarily a rebellious secret society. From this premise, they reached the conclusion that the Imperial government was deliberately condoning incipient rebellion in the hope of seeing the extermination of all missionary enterprise. Upon this foundation of error and misinformation the foreign representatives at Peking built up a policy which was uniformly disastrous. From the dispatch of the first identic note, in January, down to the summoning of the Seymour expedition on the evening of June 9, every step which was taken by the diplomatic body—either as individuals or collectively—served to intensify the disorder and to hasten the final catastrophe. The diplomatic pressure and the threats of force, by which the supposedly autocratic government was forced into partial compliance with demands for specific performance, weakened popular respect for the constituted authorities at a moment when foreign demonstrations were arousing fresh popular fears of invasion. From the moment when Admiral Seymour left Tientsin, in his attempt to reach Peking, the situation passed beyond the control of the Imperial government and of the foreign diplomats. The localization of the conflict to the northern provinces was due to the energy and determination of the great Yangtze viceroys, and to the fact that—for once—the foreign governments allowed their actions to be limited by Chinese demands".

Why Yuan Shih-Kai Succeeded

In confirmation of this last paragraph, Dr. Steiger's researches make it clear that Yuan Shih Kai's success in eliminating the Boxer disturbances from Shantung was due almost entirely to his being left free from foreign diplomatic and central government pressure. "From the time of his assumption of office (as provincial governor of Shantung), Yuan Shih Kai had been allowed to handle the situation in Shantung as he thought best, and had adopted methods which were in strict accord with Chinese tradition as to the proper means of quieting a popular disorder—so long as the disturbing elements were innocent of actual rebellion. The imperial decrees had been respectfully received, and embodied in suitable proclamations, but Yuan fully realized the fact that the real responsibility for handling the situation rested on him, and that he was responsible to the throne for the lives of the Tuan members" (i.e. the Boxers, who, according to Dr. Steiger, were at first an officially-recognized local militia) "as well as for the lives of the native Christians. The excited foreign demands for the immediate application of "force without stint" had been completely ignored, and the governor had made use of his soldiers only for the protection of foreign lives and property. Yuan's chief reliance in checking the spread of the I-Ho-Chuan had been an appeal to reason and the right ideas of the people, but he had also compelled the missionaries to do their share in bringing about tranquility, by requiring them to refrain from all unnecessary travel through the country in order that the vague popular fears regarding foreign activities might have time to die down. The authorities in Chihli were not so fortunate as the governor of Shantung. Because of their proximity to Peking and because of the much greater extent of foreign interests in their province, the actions of the Chihli officials were under closer supervision by the foreign diplomats. Neither the provincial authorities nor the Tsungli Yamen could ignore, as Yuan had ignored in Shantung, the suggestions and demands of the Diplomatic Body".

In the following chapter, therefore, Dr. Steiger goes carefully into "the diplomatic activities at Peking which contributed to the developement of the Boxer disturbance".

Dr. Steiger's basis for this arraignment of the Peking diplomats is his conception of the Chinese system of imperial government prior to the Peking protocol. Decentralization, he maintains, not autocracy, was the keystone of that system,—a fact fatally hidden from the eyes of the 1901 diplomats. He quotes Sir Robert Hart, writing in 1871; "The Chinese idea is for the locality to INITIATE, and for the central authority to: (1) wink at, (2) tacitly permit, (3) openly allow, (4) officially recognize, (5) crystallize. It is useless to attempt—except where outside force does it—to get the central offices to ORDER the adoption of NOVELTIES".

"The weakness", he goes on, "of this political system, as it appeared to a Western critic, was well expressed by Sir George Staunton about the end of the eighteenth century: "That government is certainly the most firm in which a large portion of the subjects, as in Great Britain, are conscious of having an interest in its preservation. Such does not seem the general sentiment in China."

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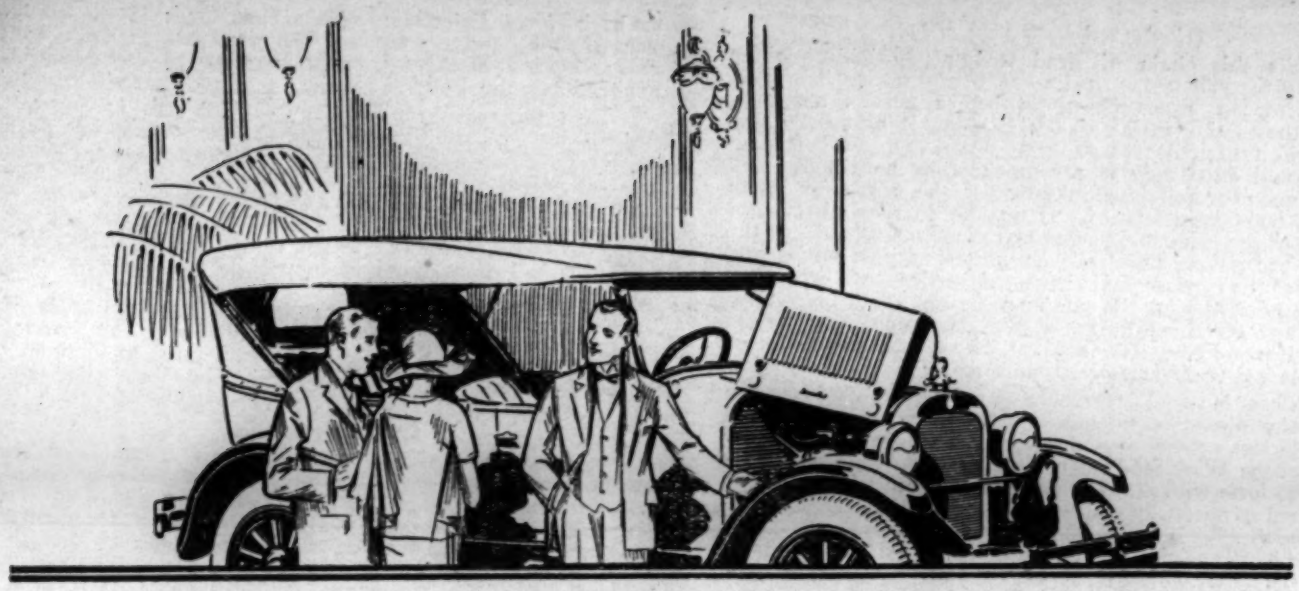
evitable so long as the Chinese mind is under the spell of mercantilism. But the second is largely to be attributed to the Japanese example. It is a matter of common knowledge that at the back of Chinese boycotts against foreign goods there is Protectionism. But Protectionism and the encouragement of home industries are what Japan is actively advocating and it is obvious that the infection has been caught by the Chinese. So if Japan wants China to mend her ways, she should begin by setting the example of fair dealing. Japan is trying hard to keep foreign goods out of her own market as far as possible in pursuance of the protectionist policy, while at the same time she is auxious to monopolise foreign markets. But this is a course which is utterly indefensible from a humanitarian point of view.



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"While this chain of graduated responsibility—whose superficial resemblance to mediaeval feudalism misled many early European observers—established a certain necessary unity in the administration of the Empire, it also inevitably resulted in a high degree of local autonomy. Full responsibility could exist only if accompanied by an equally full reliance upon the individual initiative of the officer to whom authority had been delegated. Hence the degrees, edicts, and rescripts of the Emperor, as well as the proclamations of the viceroys and governors, dwelt on glittering generalities and expounded the fundamental virtues of justice and propriety; the local officials, being the man immediately responsible, must find for any given emergency a solution which, harmonizing with justice and propriety, did not offend the prejudices of his people and thus arouse fresh difficulties."

"Inherent in the Chinese state there were, therefore, two noteworthy obstacles to the establishment of international trade relations such as had developed among the mercantile nations of the West, and such as these nations increasingly desired to form with China: first, the absence of a strongly centralized government, empowered to enter into treaty contracts which, even if they modified the existing law, would be regarded by the officials and people of the country as binding; second, the absence of any clearly defined body of civil or commercial law, on which the foreigner could rely as a guarantee for his property rights. The removal of these obstacles, the modification of Chinese political practice in such a way that these deficiencies would no longer exist, could be achieved only through a radical change of the Empire's political system, and of the political and social philosophy upon which this system was based.

"The foundation upon which the Chinese state rested was the philosophy of Confucius. Any attempt to weigh the comparative merits of the widely divergent social organizations of China and the West would involve endless speculation; it must, however, be borne in mind that the political and economic theories of the West had, for the Chinese, disruptive possibilities equal to those which the modern industrialized nations of Europe and America see in the doctrines of Bolshevism.

Why Anti-Foreignism Prevailed

"This incompatibility between the Chinese political system and the needs of the Western commercial countries will go far toward explaining the attitude of bitter anti-foreignism with which, from the close of the eighteenth century down to the present day, the Chinese people and officials have been so often charged. The hostility has been directed against the political institutions of the West—not against the westerners as individuals".

"Dr Steiger establishes this last point by references to Chinese history since the 13th century, and more especially by an examination of the Chinese government's recorded attitude towards Christian missions. "The immediate causes", he concludes, "for the proscription of Christianity—first decreed in 1669 and subsequently reaffirmed in 1717—were entirely political". In this connection he adds in another place: "Until the closing years of the nineteenth century, anti-foreignism among the Chinese was almost entirely associated with the spread of Christian missions".

It was the refusal of the foreign Powers under modern international conditions to recognize the workability of this decentralized system, which led inevitably to the Boxer outbreak, the collapse of the Manchus, and the rise of present-day Chinese Nationalism. The process was first definitely set in motion in 1895, after the catastrophe of Shimonoseki, when foreigners generally believed that the Manchu regime was at the point of death. Mr. Denby, America's diplomatic representative. "on May 8 submitted to Secretary Gresham a set of proposals which he regarded as a suitable basis for concerted action by the treaty powers for the readjustment of China's relations with the outside world. Of these nineteen "Suggestions of Desired Reforms", the last two are especially significant:—

"18th. The Viceroys, Governors, and the Provincial authorities generally, shall be prohibited to treat international matters, except to settle claims for injuries done to foreigners. All other question affecting foreigners shall be cognizable at the capital and by the Central Government only.

"19th. No Viceroy or Governor shall have the power to make any contract with foreigners for the purchase or supply of any material. All such contracts shall be made or authorized by the Imperial or Central Government".

"The probable result", Dr. Steiger continues, "of the reforms, if they had been adopted, would have been to put China absolutely under the management of the treaty Powers; all important administrative functions would have been centralized in the hands of the government at Peking, where they would have been under effective control by the diplomatic body. As the policy suggested by Mr. Denby did not meet the approval of the Cleveland administration, it did not become the basis of any diplomatic action at that time; in the settlement of 1901, however, such of the proposals as dealt with the modification of existing customs regulations were essentially adopted by the Powers".

This foreign pressure did show its influence in one immediate and concrete result, namely the "Hundred days reform government of the young Emperor Kuang Hsu in cooperation with the rising body of young reformers". The keynote of this spectacular effort was "a fundamental change in the direction of greater centralization". And the keynote of the spectacular reaction which, under the Dowager Empress Tzu Hsi, immediately followed it, was the conviction that this centralization was both alien to the traditions of China and also of no use in meeting the pressing needs of China's defence from the "foreign devils". The obvious justification of this belief lies in the successful maintainance of amicable relations with the foreigners by Yuan Shih Kai and the Yangtze viceroys all through the troubles of 1901.

Decentralization

This decentralized system, however, if it could, on the one hand, be a source of strength, was, on the other hand most certainly a possible source of weakness, owing to the constant danger of "foreign interference between the central government and the provincial officials. The officials and the people soon came to understand that every post in the country whose jurisdiction in any way affected foreigners, was at the mercy of the diplomatic body". This danger, however, the Empress Dowager was far from being unaware of, and the most marked feature of her return to decentralization was that, "in the twenty months which followed the Empress Dowager's 'coup d'etat' of September, 1898, we find no case where a viceroy or governor was dismissed from office in compliance with demands put forward by members of the diplomatic body; although there were at least three cases in which such demands were made. This rehabilitation of the governors and viceroys was a fundamental part of the policy determined upon by the Empress Dowager. As the program of the Emperor and Kang Yu-wei had been "reorganization along western lines", so that of the new regime may be described as "restoration and reform",—the immediate object being to "reduce to a minimum the occasions for diplomatic pressure at Peking". The ultimate step in this policy of "conservative reform" was the circular despatch of December, 1899, addressed to the provincial authorities of the maritime and Yangtze provinces, declaring that "This (Tsungli) Yamen has received the special commands of Her Imperial Majesty. the Empress Dowager, and His Imperial Majesty, the Emperor, to grant you full power and liberty to resist by force of arms all aggressions upon your several jurisdictions, proclaiming a state of war, if necessary, without first asking for instructions from Peking".

In full accord with this policy was the Imperial favor extended after November, 1898, to the Righteous and Harmonious Bands" (the original and true title of those who came to be known as the "Boxers"), who "were perfectly legitimate and customary bodies for local defence, expressly authorized and encouraged by special decrees. Unfortunately", adds Dr. Steiger, "this official encouragement of militarism led to undesirable results of a sort which were only too natural in China". Moreover, "the movement, whatever its origin, had, by the spring of 1900, become religious in character". (In explaining this last development, as he maintains it to have been, Dr. Steiger embarks upon what he himself calls "some rather daring conjectures").

He concludes that "the traditional account of the origin of the I-ho Chuan .... must be rejected. The so-called Boxers were a Tuan, or volunteer militia; they were recruited, in response to the express commands of the Throne, in precisely those provinces whose loyalty was most to be trusted; in the rebelliouly inclined provinces of the Yangtze valley and the South, the movement was never allowed to spread. .... Even the Ta Tao Hui (Big Sword Society), although it was cursed with a name which rendered it an object of suspicion, was organized for resistance to foreigu invasion and had, for this reason, the approval of many of the local officials. Whatever the Boxer movement may have become—or may have threatened to become—by the spring of 1900, it was, in the beginning, neither revolutionary nor an heretical organization; it was a lawful and loyal volunteer militia, whose existence was fully justifled by the reasonable apprehensions of the government and the people".

Dr. Steiger's book thus throws a new and brilliant light upon the fundamental causes and working of anti-foreignism in China. In addition to this, the book is of great interest in a study of the present situation now in 1927 and its possible developements. To quote once more, and for the last time: "The West, after a century of conflict, reduced the reigning dynasty to a state of humiliating dependence upon foreign power,and, at the same time, imposed upon the Chinese Empire a degree of centralization whichwas utterly alien to traditional

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theory and practice. The first result of this arrangement was the fall of the dynasty—its "Mandate from Heaven" had been exhausted. But the movement which overthrew the Manchus was also accompanied by a wave of reaction against centralization, and the attempt to establish a unified republic along Western lines—although supported and approved by foreign interests—has failed to secure any real support among the great mass of the people...."

"More than once, since the days of Shih Huang Ti, changes have been made in the organization of the Chinese state. Sometimes these changes have been in the direction of greater centralization; sometimes China has broken up—for short periods of time—into a number of rival and warring parts; yet each time China has returned to a system closely resembling that which has existed since before the days of Confucius."

"Like the Great Wall of Shih Huang Ti, the Boxer movement was a futile—although quite explainable—effort to find relief from the pressure of the outside world. The Boxer movemeut failed, and the Chinese people are faced once more ... with the task of assimilating troublesome foreign influences".

Dr. Steiger leaves unspoken the suggestion that the outcome in China of the 20th century may be the same as in China of the past. The casting die, he might add mentally, probably lies with the powers of the West.

Shanghai, Nov. 3, 1927

Chinese Tea House Collapses

Another painful reminder of the dangerous character of many Chinese public structures occurred during the noon hour November 5 when the three-story Pen Fang tea house in Chapei, suburb of Shanghai, collapsed while upwards of five hundred guests including many women and children were guests. More than a hundred persons were killed and about three hundred injured. A similar incident on a smaller scale occurred in the Chinese city several days later.

Royal Asiatic Society Journal

The North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society has issued Vol. LVIII (1927) of its Journal. Its 250 pages contain much valuable material. Authors who contributed articles include the Rev. A. C. Moule, Dr. J. C. Ferguson, the Rev, Evan Morgan, Mrs. C. E. Couling, Gorge P. Kojeureff, anp Arthur Paul Jacot.

Chang Tso-ling Says Chiang Kai-shek "Squeezed" $200,000,000

Marshal Chang Tso-ling, generalissimo of the Fengtien forces in North China, in an interview with Karl A. Bickeil president of the *United Press* in Peking recently, declared h,s belief that Gen. Chiang Kai-shek had looted the Nationalits treasury to the amount of $200,000,000. In this connection, Marshal Chang said, "I have reason to believe on good authority, that Chiang Kai-shek benefitted from his military and political activities to the extent of $200,000,000, although this may be an exaggeration. Gen. Chiang is a war profiteer and he carried enormous sums out of China and is now enjoying himself to the utmost."

Marshal Chang warned Mr. Bickel in the interview against confusing men like Chiang Kai-shek with, for instance, Abraham Lincoln. The latter was a patriot. Marshal Chang also told Mr. Bickel that the Nationalists would never be able to patch up their differences and scoffed at the idea that Chiang Kai-shek might again return to power. The Mukden Warlord also declared his conviction that Feng Yu-hsiang had received $5,000,000 from Soviet Russia and that Yen Hsi-shan, tupan of Shansi, had received $3,000,000. Marshal Chang declared that his sole purpose in life was to rid China of communism. Hs also expressed opposition to Senator Bingham's recent suggestion about regional governments.

Senator Bingham Doesn't Think Chang Will Control China

Senator Hiram Bingham, who spent considerable time in China last spring and summer investigating conditions on behalf of President Coolidge, in an interview with the *United Press* which was published in the *North China Star*, the American newspaper in Tientsin on Nov. 1, declared his belief that Marshal Chang Tso-ling would never control all China or even any considerable part of the country. Senator Bingham's interview was in reply to an interview which Marshal Chang gave to Karl Bickel of the *United Press* in Peking sometime ago in which Marshal Chang denounced Senator Bingham's plan for the recognition of regional governments in China. Senator Bingham reiterated his determination to press his plan for regional governments, declaring his conviction that "China's Salvation" rests in strong, sectional governments, "which the United States should recognize whenevre their respective stability warrants."

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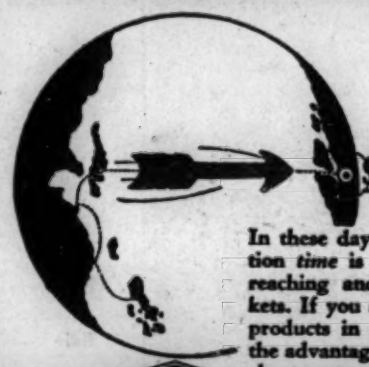

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The China Merchants S. N. Co.

THE announcement made recently that the China Merchants Steam Navigation Co. was to be liquidated by order of the Nationalist Government calls attention to the somewhat romantic, although stormy, career of this, the largest of China's steamship services. From present indications it seems that it will eventually be fated to go the way of the China Mail Steamship Co., which made a brave but unsuccessful attempt several years ago to fly the Chinese flag across the Pacific.

China, in common with all nations, including America, has the ambition to make itself independent of foreign flags for the transportation of the wares which it buys and also those which it sells. To keep the country's flag flying at the masthead costs many a nation, America included, quite a nice penny. China in its endeavors to build up a merchant marine of her own is at a double disadvantage. First of all the political situation is such that no company's ships are safe from being commandeered or captured by military factions at almost any moment. And what is worse a Chinese shipping manager, after having been forced to part with ships to one political faction, frequently becomes a target for the succeeding faction and is blackmailed on the ground that he assisted the other side, whereas in truth he was very unwilling that his ships should be diverted from their regular services.

Foreign Competition

The other disadvantage is that China's merchant marine *must* compete with foreign-owned boats. China is now practically the only country in the world that has not the right to prevent foreign boats from trading between its ports, and most countries have passed such coast-wise restriction laws. That the net result of such restriction is to send up shipping rates is undoubted, but in most countries the pride of a nation in keeping the merchant marine flag flying is such that ships are kept running at the expense of the genepal public to the exclusion of foreign competition. China up until this time has been prevented from taking such a step.

The China Merchants Steam Navigation Co. has a special interest for Americans in that it succeeded to the business and the ships of a pioneer American shipping company in the Far East. It is so long ago that the American flag was supreme in China that the average American doesn't know that such was the case.

Up until the time of the Civil War the American flag sailed proudly not only in China waters, but all over the world. The foundation was laid by the Yankee "skipper" and his "clipper" ships. The forests of Maine supplied the wood and Massachusetts shipwrights constructed the vessels. Gradually as the change to steam driven ships came, the sails were discarded and boilers installed instead. But wood was still the material from which the ships were built. Then the Civil War came along, most of the wooden ships were destroyed, never to be replaced, as in the meantime the era of steel hulls had come, and this was an art in which Salem and New Bedford could not compete with Glasgow and Belfast.

Civil War Kills U. S. Shipping

During the second year of the Civil War, that is in 1862, the Massachusetts shipping firm of Russell & Co. "floated" in China the Shanghai Steam Navigation Co., with a capital of about five million dollars—one of the earliest examples of foreign and Chinese cooperations, a large proportion of the capital being held by Chinese. For eight years the company did a wonderful business and doubled its capital. Such a success under foreign management however soon became an "eyesore" to the Manchu government, and a systematic attempt was made to oust the Russell venture by the Chinese government subsidizing Chinese companies, and by 1877 such powerful competition had been built up that the Russells were glad to sell out their interests to Chinese. The new company was sponsored by the celebrated Li Hung-chang. It had the privilege of carrying annually one-third of the tribute rice to the North. The prime object of the company was to drive out foreign competition, an object which it has, under the existing conditions, not been able to attain up to this time.

The American Eagle

The vessels which the China Merchants bought from the Russells seemed to have had more stability than the company itself. Some of the original ships, old side-wheelers originally built for the Mississipi, are still running. They creak a bit, but they "do move." The original effigy of an American eagle perched proudly on one of these ships (the *Kiangfoo*) during its almost half a century of service, and when the vessel was broken up several years ago the boards with the eagle design were placed in the U. S. Consulate in Shanghai, where all visitiors may see the visible evidence of the glory that was once America's in China's waters.

The China Merchants Steam Navigation Co. operates about fifteen vessels, running up the Yangtsze and to various coast ports. Each ship has an average of six foreign officers, mostly British, three above deck and three below. Were it not for financial assistance given to it by one of the British banks in Shanghai the company would probably have gone on the "rocks" long ago.

The China Merchants company has to a great extent been made a sort of a football in Chinese politics. Its management has usually wavered between a desire to make money and a desire to make "face." As mentioned above, its vessels have been frequently commandeered by one or the other military faction and for long periods the ships have lain idle for fear that they would be captured by some opposing military faction. But despite the general difficulties which any Chinese shipping company in China must face, it is apparent that the principal trouble with the China Merchants Company has been unfortunate management.

Nationalists Take Control of Shanghai Post Office

A memorandum on the Unity of the Chinese Postal Service has been prepared by Liu Shu-fan, the new Director General of Posts, who took office November 1, under the auspsices of the Nanking Nationalist Government. The post office in Shanghai, the largest and most important in China, together with all other post offices in Kiangsu province, is now under the control of the Nationalist government.

In explaining the reasons for taking over the post office, the Nationalist Ministry of Communications points out that eighteen of the twenty-four postal districts in China are in the area controlled by the Nationalist government, the Postal Commissioners in those provinces holding letters of appointment from the Nationalist Government, such procedure having been adopted at the request of the Peking Directorate General of Posts itself.

The principal point stressed in the Memorandum is that the Nanking government wishes to cooperate with the Peking government in the matter of postal administration. On this point the Memorandum says:

Up to the present time the Nationalist Ministry of Communications has sought sincerely to cooperate with the Peking Directorate General in maintaining the unity and efficiency of the Postal Service throughout the country as a whole. This is evidenced by the following facts:

(1) That in the new Hankow Directorate General of Posts only two departments are established, one for correspondence aud the other for auditing accounts. Other affairs, for example, those relating to the Postal Union, supplies, etc. are left as before in the hands of the Peking Co-Director General who has been specially instructed by this Ministry also to manage and control funds as hitherto.

(2) The Nationalist Government has drawn no funds from any Post Office. Though M. Rousse, a special delegate from the Peking Directorate, definitely promised (by despatch) a payment of $60,000 to purchase quarters for the Ministry of Communications, nevertheless this payment was not insisted upon by the Nationalist Government and has never been taken, as it became clear later that M. Rousse had exceeded M. Destelan's instructions. This abstention is in spite of the fact that M. Destelan has been forced to make large payments to the Northern Government.

(3) The Nationalist Ministry of Communications is fully aware of the difficulties which M. Destelan is facing in administering the Postal Service at the present time. In order therefore to strengthen his hands the Ministry has offered him the concurrent post of Co-Director General in its own Directorate. The Ministry also feels that M. Destelan's appointment will tend to make secure postal properties worth $15,000,000, floating funds aggregating about $8,000.000, and in addition deposits belonging to the postal staff which amount to several million dollars.

(4) The Ministry hopes that M. Destelan will yet accept the appointment which has been offered to him. However, in case he should feel unable to do so, the Ministry has already requested him to appoint some one, agreeable to him, who upon being commissioned by the Nationalist Government, might then act for him officially as Co-Director General for the Nationalist area.

(5) The Nationalist Government in the past has not interferred with the Peking Co-Director General's authority in the general management of the Postal Service, or fettered or embarrassed him or his Commissioners by introducing changes of any sort in its administration. On the contrary the Government has shown throughout its desire to uphold the efficiency of the Service in every way.

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Marshal Feng Yu-hsiang Advances Eastward

BY J. B. P.

The outstanding event in the week's news is the fact that Marshal Feng Yu-hsiang is finally on the move and has won an important victory by defeating the combined Chihli-Shantung forces in eastern Honan. The battle occurred during the latter part of September, but was not known definitely in Shanghai until late last week and even then was disbelieved in the face of reports from Peking which stated that the Chihli-Shantung troops under the command of Generals Chang Chung-chang and Chu Yu-puh (tupan of Chihli) had captured the town of Kaifeng in eastern Honan on the Lung-Hai Railway.

However, it is now confirmed that Feng Yu-hsiang has captured the town of Kweiteh in eastern Honan and is making preparations for an advance on Hsuchowfu, the junction point of the Tientsin-Pukow and Lung-Hai Railroads. The *Kuo Min* news agency, official organ of the Nationalist Government at Nanking, in its report on Tuesday, Nov. 8 gave details regarding Feng's victory stating that Feng had completely routed the Chihli-Shantung forces and had captured many pieces of artillery besides some 20,000 rifles and some 12,000 prisoners. A *Toho* (Japanese) report from Peking on Monday, Nov. 7 stated that the Chihli-Shantung troops, following their defeat by Feng Yu-hsiang had dropped back toward Hsuchowfu in order to defend that place. It was also stated that Gen. Chang Chung-chang, tupan of Shantung, was trying to dispatch troops across the Yellow River in the rear of Feng's forces at Kaifeng in the hope of forcing a withdrawal. A report by the *Kuo Min* agency on Monday also alleged that Feng Yu-hsiang had decided to send troops scuthward to cooperate with the Nanking forces against Gen. Tang Shen-tse, but this report did not coincide with other reports from Feng's headquarters which stated that the railway between Hankow and Chengchow, Honan was still open with regular trains running, which would hardly be possible if strained relations existed between Feng and Tang. The best information seems to indicate that Feng is still preserving neutrality in respect to the clash between Nanking and Hankow.

Gen. Ho. Yin-chin, One of the Nanking Generals Who is Pushing the Fight Against Tang Shen-tse. Gen. Ho, According to Report, Is Scheduled for the Hankow Post, in the Event of the Defeat of Gen. Tang.

Little Further Development at Canton

There has been little development in the situation at Canton further than that reported in these columns of *The Review* last week when it was stated that Wang Ching-wei, former Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang under the Wu-han Government had returned to Canton and had announced that the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee at Canton was the only real civilian government in China and the central authority of the Party. The situation at Canton seems to be more or less deadlocked on account of the rivalry of two Kuomintang generals, Li Chi-sum and Chang Fa-kwei, who seem to be quite evenly balanced in their authority. Some insight into Chang Fa-kwei's intentions was given in an interview circulated last week by the so-called *Wu-han News Agency*, in the course of which Gen. Chang declared that the "Central Special Committee" at Nanking was illegal and should be abolished immediately "in order that the Central Executive and Supervisory Committees of the Kuomintang could be restored to power." Continuing, Gen. Chang declared:

"It must be understood that the split between Hankow and Nanking was due to the deep-rooted thought of hero-worship among the Party members, who attached more importance to the retaining of office by General Chiang Kai-shih than to the welfare of the Party. What they charged against the Wuhan Government was groundless, as the latter had done nothing against the rules and principles of the Party.

"Later the Nanking leaders had awakened to the necessity of having the co-operation of Wuhan. They approached Wang Ching-wei urging the removal of the Wuhan Government to Nanking. Had Mr. Wang's proposal of holding the Fourth Plenary Session of the C. E. C. and the convocation of the Third National Congress been adopted all Party disputes would have been settled. Unfortunately for some reasons the power of the Party got into the hand of several old and corrupt persons such as those of the Western Hills Group. Under their misleading direction the Special Committee was formed, which was decidedly against the wishes of every member of the Party.

"The Western Hills men were expelled from the Party by the declaration of the Second National Congress of the Kuomintang. These persons had no right to claim Kuomintang membership and subsequently they have no right to control Party affairs. They are enemies of the Party and it is ridiculous to let them manipulate Party affairs at Nanking.

"If the reason advanced were that we could co-operate with the Western Hills men as they were the first ones who voiced opposition against the Communists then it would be very reasonable for us to co-operate with Chang Tso-lin. Would that sound plausible to us? They were expelled from the Party because they had violated the Party rules and not because they were against the Communists.

"The leadership of the Nationalist Revolution should never be left in the hands of the Western Hills men. If they are permitted to remain in power the Party would be no more and the future of the Nationalist Revolution would be doomed."

Usual "Red" Reports

Since the return of Wang Ching-wei to Canton, there have been the usual reports alleging that he is planning to start another so-called "Red" regime. On October 28, a report from Canton stated that Gen. Li Chi-sum, who is supposed to be friendly toward Nanking, had ordered a round-up of alleged Communists who were supposed to be planning a coup in the form of a labor uprising participated in by 20,000 workers. It was also stated that a number of labor agitators were arrested as they were calling on Wang Ching-wei, but this was not confirmed. On Saturday Nov. 5 it was reported through British agencies that the anti-British boycott had been started again and that strike pickets in uniform were again seizing British merchandise and searching Chinese passengers arriving in Canton from Hongkong. Still another report stated that the Canton Government had decided to take action against the pirates which make their headquarters at Bias Bay near Hongkong and that the Government had decided to station troops in that area to prevent further piracies.

The Nanking-Hankow Fight

According to latest information pertaining to the fight between Nanking and Hankow, it was stated on Monday, Nov. 7 that the Nanking and Hankow military forces were facing each other at the town of Wusueh which is located on the Yangtsze about midway between Hankow and Kiukiang. The Nanking forces have practically cleared Anhwei province of Gen. Tang Shen-tse's forces and have taken over that territory practically without a fight, the Hankow forces simply withdrawing up river. In addition to this it has been reported that Gen. Yang Sen, the Szechuen general, formerly a follower of Marshal Wu Pei-fu, but now a Nationalist of sorts, had moved down river from Chunaking and had occupied Ichang, following which he planned to launch an attack on Gen. Tang Shen-tse at Hankow. It was stated that Yang Sen is cooperating with Nanking, but local officials affiliated with the Nanking faction do not display any great enthusiasm over Yang Sen's exploits, doubtless feeling that his occupation of Hankow would be of little advantage to either the Nationalist Party or to the Kuomintang. It is reported from Nanking that, in case Gen. Tang Shen-tse can be eliminated from Hankow, this post has been reserved for Gen. Ho Yin-chin, one of the Nanking triumvirate of young generals who has been affiliated with the Nationalist movement since the original advance from Canton last winter and spring.

Little Activity in North

There has likewise been little activity in the fighting in the North between Marshal Chang Tso-ling, the dictator of the Peking Government and Gen. Yen Hsi-shan, tupan of Shansi province. The little force of Shansi troops numbering approximately 5,000 men are still holding out in the town of Chochow, which is located some 35 miles southward of Peking on the Peking-Hankow Railway. Despite Marshal Chang Tso-ling's vast superiority of men and equipment, he has not been able to recapture Chochow and according to latest reports has decided not to waste any more ammunition and will attempt to starve the Shansi troops into surrender. The possession of Chochow by the Shansi forces is particularly embarassing to the Fengtien forces because the town is located near the railway and the Shansi forces are thus in a position to menace Marshal Chang Tso-ling's line of communications with his forces in southern Chihli province which are attempting to cooperate with the Chihli-Shantung troops against Feng Yu-hsiang in Honan. On the northern sector, Marshal Chang claims continued victories on the Tientsin-Pukow Railway, the reports stating that his troops have advanced a considerable distance wes ward of Kalgan into northern Shansi.

Alleged Communist Uprising in Kiangsu

There have been several reports of alleged communist activities in Kiangsu province, particularly in the vicinity of the industrial city of Wusih which is located about 80 miles northward of Shanghai. The report stated that a considerable force of laborers, farmers and peasants partly armed with rifles, but mostly with farming implements had raided one of the police stations at the town of Ishing, a short distance northward of Wusih and had practically taken control of the town before the military arrived and defeated them after a pitched battle in the streets. In addition to this there was an outbreak at the town of Nantungchow, located on the Yangtsze about midway between Shanghai and Nanking. The report stated that a number of soldiers had rebelled and looted the city of property valued at approximately $80,000. This incident was reputed to have been caused by soldiers who had not received their pay for a considerable period. The Nanking Government has declared martial law at both Wusih and Ishing and has adopted precautionary measures in connection with operation of trains on the Shanghai-Nanking Railway, owing to the fear that the railway may be cut by plain-clothes men at night.

The Northern Campaign

Very little information is available regarding the advance of Nanking troops into northern Kiangsu, it being stated that Pengpu on the Tientsin-Pukow Railway in Anhwei is still being held by the northern troops under Gen. Sun Chuan-fang and that the Nationalist troops which were advancing into northern Kiangsu along the Grand Canal have been driven back to Tsinkiangpu. The Nationalist forces, according to reliable reports are short of ammunition, hence are waiting the attack on Hsuchowfu by Feng Yu-hsiang, hoping that the Chihli-Shantung troops will be forced to withdraw back into Shantung without a fight.

Correspondent's Ashes Scattered Over Moscow

The ashes of Mr. Walter C. Whiffen, late correspondent for the *Associated Press* in Peking, Siberia and Japan from 1917 to 1926 and well known here, were strewn from a military airplane over Moscow and vicinity in accordance with his wishes before death there recently. The funeral was the first of its kind in the history of the city and the ceremony was watched by a large group of friends and spectators. The ashes were carried in a flower urn and were scattered by Mr. N. Kotoff, a Russian newspaper comrade, after the plane reached a height of 500 feet. The cermony took place after a religious and civil service attended by almost the entire American colony in Moscow as well as by representatives of the Soviet Foreign Office, the Soviet News Agency *Tass*, the Soviet press and an attache of the Japanese Embassy. Mr. Whiffen had served as correspondent for the Associated Press in many capitals of the world before his assignment to Moscow. *Japan Advertiser.*

China Correspondent Recovers from Breakdown

Thomas Steep, special correspondent for the New York *Herald Tribune*, who was forced to return home from the Far East owing to a nervous breakdown which he suffered in Tokyo last summer, has entirely recovered, according to letters received by friends in Shanghai last week. Upon their return to New York Mr. and Mrs. Steep spent several weeks on a farm in New York State, and upon Mr. Steep's recovery they returned to New York where Mr. Steep has rejoined the staff of the *Herald Tribune.*

Men and Events

Announcement is made that General Chiang Kai-shek, former generalissimo of the Nanking forces, is on his way back to Shanghai from Japan.

J. H. Hykes, an old Shanghai resident, now connected with the Aluminum Co. of America, returned to Shanghai from the United States November 4.

F. Floyd Spielman, president of the American firm, Frazar, Fed. Inc., of Tientsin, has returned to China from a trip of several months to the United States.

A report from Hongkong during the week stated that Eugene Chen, former Minister of Foreign Affairs at Hankow, will shortly return from Russia to Canton.

Mrs. Smedley D. Butler, wife of the commander of the U. S. Marine forces stationed at Tientsin, has arrived in Japan on her way to Tientsin to join her husband.

L. E. Howey of the Standard Oil Co. in Batavia passed through Shanghai during the week enroute to the United States. He is accompanied by his wife and child.

Business in Shanghai was suspended during about half the usual working hours during the past week owing to the incidence of the Autumn race meeting.

Mrs. C. F. Wolsiffer returned to Shanghai November 4 by the *President Grant* from the United States. Her niece from San Francisco, Miss Catherine Connolly, accompanied Mrs. Wolsiffer.

George Atcheson, Jr., has arrived in Tientsin where he will assume the duties of vice-consul at the American Consulate-General. He is accompanied by Mrs. Atcheson and their son.

Paul Wright, correspondent for the *Chicago Daily News* in China, who, with Mrs. Wright has been visiting in Tokyo for several weeks, is returning to Shanghai, traveling by way of Dairen and Tientsin and Peking.

John K. Gold, president of the Oriental Motor Company and the Ford Hire Service, Inc., has returned to Shanghai from a trip of several months in the United States. Mrs. Gold and their child also returned with Mr. Gold.

At the tiffin of the Pan-Pacific Association held at the Union Club, Shanghai, November 9, G. H. Blakeslee spoke on "The Honolulu Institute and the Problems of China," and Lieut.-Com. Lavender spoke on "Long Distance Flying."

T. V. Soong, former Minister of Finance in the Nationalist government, who has been on a visit to Canton, returned to Shanghai during the week. In an interview in a Hongkong paper he stressed the necessity for peace between the various Chinese factions.

Among missionaries who returned to China from the United States during the week were Mrs. James Henry, and four children, going to Lingnan College, Canton, Miss Natalia Snyder, also going to Lingnan College, and Miss Mary Hoetker, who disembarked at Shanghai.

According to a recent *Reuter* dispatch from London, Trebisch Lincoln, a former member of the British Parliament, who became known during the World War as the "international spy" is now in Peking. According to the report Lincoln is on his way to Tibet. He is a contributor to newspapers in the United States.

W. Miskell, acting first sergeant, attached to the 2nd Battalion, U. S. Marines at Tientsin, committed suicide on Sunday morning, Oct. 30 by shooting himself through the head with a 45 Colt revolver. Sergeant Miskell had had 24 years service with the Marines. He is thought to have been suffering from temporary insanity.

Judge Milton D. Purdy in the U. S. Court for China November 4 dismissed the suit brought by E. Carroll, British merchant, against the China Finance Corporation, in which he claimed for wrongful seizure of a Peugeot car. The Court found that the title to the car according to the contract remained with the Finance Corporation and that they had a right to "seize" it.

Mrs. E. T. Forrestier, a British woman, residing at 528 Avenue Haig Estate, Shanghai, after having been removed to the Country Hospital at Shanghai, in an unconscious condition, from her home, where she was attacked between three and four oclock in the morning of November 2, died on Nov, 7. The assailant is unknown, but a former servant is suspected.

Dr. Charles Young, formerly head of the Peking Union Medical College and for many years a resident of China, has departed for the United States where he will make his future home. After retiring from the management of the Peking Union Medical College, Dr. Young devoted himself to bacteriological research in Peking and in Fukien province where he investigated the disease, Kalazar.

The Latest Books On China's Problems

SAN MIN CHU I

The Three Principles of the People by Sun Yat-sen. Translated into English by Frank W. Price; Edited by L. T. Chen. Price, $4.

The Three Principles are the great force that is now driving China forward. This book, published by the China Committee of the Institute of Pacific Relations, is to supply the demand of Westerners who wish to know Dr. Sun's political theories.

The translation is complete and faithful to the original. Geographical and historical references have been verified. Brief notes to explain unfamiliar names and references have been added. Each chapter is placed with a brief summary.

VITAL FACTORS IN CHINA'S PROBLEMS

Edited by T. H. Lee, Litt. D. Price, $2.50.

A collection of forty-three timely essays on the vital questions confronting China and the world. These readings in current literature offer practical suggestions for the solution of China's problems. The book is intended for a text for general reading, or readings in Civics and Social Science.

WHAT'S RIGHT WITH CHINA

By Dr. O. D. Rasmussen.
Now Ready. Price, $3.50.

This book is written to answer the trite and hackneyed criticisms of Westerners who see nothing good in China and the Chinese. He takes the actual words of the critics and subjects them to close scrutiny upon their merits. He tests the truth of the criticisms and compares them to similar conditions in Western subjects. He goes to the source of accepted history on China to disprove the basis upon which a great deal of anti-Chinese criticism rests. It is of importance to current study of the subject.

The Commercial Press, Ltd., Shanghai

Publishers and Book Agents

C453 Honan Rd. 22 N. Szechuen Rd.

From the Chinese Press

(News items pertaining to Chinese politics appearing under this heading are taken mostly from the daily reports of the Kuo Wen (independent), Kuo Min (Nanking official) Nationalist (Wu-Han official) and Toho (Japanese) news agencies, and from translations of articles appearing in the local Chinese press).

October 31—Japanese report from Ichang states Gen. Yang Sen is moving his troops to Ichang—Hankow General Labor Union passes resolution favoring restoration of picket corps owing to fact that Tang Shen-tse's troops have largely been withdrawn to meet the Nanking advance—Chinese fire on Japanese ship *Fengyang Maru* near Kiukiang, causing Japanese to protest—Wu-han Government ceases conversion of Central Bank Notes causing a number of native banks to close; merchants in Hankow and Wuchang ordered to pay two months rent in advance—Another Japanese ship, the *Hokuto Maru* raided near Wuhu by Chinese soldiers, no casualties—Hongkong report states Wang Ching-wei plans to issue call for meeting of Central Executive and Supervisory Committees of Kuomintang as means of settling Nanking-Hankow trouble— Fengtien authorities worried by raiding parties of Shansi troops which have even reached the Peking-Mukden Railway; Gen. Wu Chun-sheng orders clean-up at Chinchow and causes execution of a number of officers and men suspected of complicity—Japanese *Toho* report from Peking alleges that 100,000 rifles are being transported from Russia to Feng Yu-hsiang—*Toho* report from Wuhu states that Gen. Chu Peh-teh of Kiangsi may finally decide to side with Tang Shen-tse instead of Nanking—*Toh* report from Tokyo states that Shansi troops are still in control of Chochow southward of Peking and are being reinforced with 5,000 recruits and that they may shortly cut the Peking-Hankow line preventing retreat of Fengtien troops operating to the south on the Chihli-Shansi border—Nanking Government announces regulations for the various bureaus of foreign affairs in Nationalist territory—Nanking claims attack on Pengpu progressing.

November 1—Japanese Departments of Finance and Foreign Affairs open negotiations with Yokohama Specie Bank and Japan Industrial Bank for purpose of consolidating Japanese loans invested in Han Yeh Ping Coal and Iron Works at Henkow; investigators being sent to Hankow to make recommandations—Tokyo report states Russians have purchased six steamers of 3,000 tons each for Far Eastern cargo service and also planning construction six passenger steamers for Far Eastern trade—Nanking Finance Ministry prohibits export of silver, metals for arms manufacture, paper and ink or coal from Shanghai to Hankow; Japanese planning protest—Nanking gunboats *Chuyu* and *Yangchi* arrive at Kiukiang to guard river and reported that Gen. Chu Pei-teh will move troops against Tang Shen-tse—Fengtien troops under Gen. Kao Wei-yo claim capture of Tienchen on Peking-Suiyuan Railway Dr. T. V. Soong in *Toho* interview from Canton states he is only going to Canton on unofficial trip, but indefinite regarding whether he intends joining Canton Government as Finance Minister—Chinese troops fire on British gunboat *Cricket* and cargo steamer *Lienwn* near Kiukiang—Chinese military at Kiukiang issue order prohibiting firing on foreign steamers—Nanking Governmant issues new law covering kidnappings with severe punishment—Gen. Bei Tsung-chi reports he is at Mengtaitze directing attack on Pengpu and that Nationalist troops have advanced north-ward along Grand Canal from Tsingkiangpu in Northern Kiangsu—Gen. Li Chung-jen's Nationalist troops claim capture of Hofei, Anhwei thus bringing troops within striking distance of Lung-Hai Railway—FengYu-hsiang claims capture of town within 30 miles of Hsuchowfu from Chihli-Shantung troops—*Kuo Min* report states that uneasiness prevails at Hankow—*Kuo Min* report from Nanking reports alleged row between Chang Chung-chang and Sun Chuan-fang at Tsinanfu due to Sun's charging Chang with withholding funds sent by Chang Tso-ling for Sun's army—Madame C. C. Wu still being detained in Tientsin upon orders of Chang Tso-ling —Railway service between Cheng chow and Hankow being maintained—Chang Chung-chang appoints Gen. Fan Chung-hsiu as commander of 16th Shantung army—Peking denies that Soviet Russia has made a commercial treaty with Sinkiang—Chu, Pei-teh, tupan of Kiangsi, claims he has captured 1,000 troops and 800 rifles from Tang Shen-tse.

November 2—Powers may take strong action to prevent Shantung authorities from attempting to inaugurate tonnage dues and seize salt revenues, according to *Toho* message from Peking—*Toho* report from Nanking states Nationalist Government has decided to withdraw previous order abolishing salt revenue department and that Gabelle offices may shortly be reopened—Fengtien claims capture of Yankao on

(Continued on page VI)

New Books of Interest in the Far East

Plant Hunting By Ernest H. Wilson, M. A., V. M. H. Keeper of the Arnold Arboretum of Harvard University. With 128 illustrations. Two volumes. Price $15. The Stratford Company, Boston, Massachusetts. 1927.

This is a sound principle, inesciple, inescapable moreover. The only true beauty is that which comes from appropriateness, and appropriateness is the basic principle of beauty.

But until quite recent years it is Utility alone which has been the aim of business experts in conceiving their products. Their ideal has been excellent, namely the ideal of service, but they have only just begun to realize that Beauty is another form of service. After many years of travailing with ugliness, there is suddenly and unexpectedly produced the late-born and despaired-of twin Beauty.

But it is still quite frankly admitted that the motive behind all these changes is simply the desire to sell. The conviction, which also exists, that better work will be done in pleasant surroundings, is inspired by the belief that work done is the sole justification for those pleasant surroundings. The result is that the new movement takes such surprising turns as the beautification of furnaces, ash-bins, railways and radio-sets, and even extends so far that we may confidently predict a future when industrial development will find it unnecessary to disfigure the landscape at all. And there it ends on a negative note. The movement positively to beautify the landscape is still relegated to the historical limbo of the 18th century.

There is nothing illogical about this position, if indeed it is true that Beauty is no more than a developement of the idea of service. We can at a pinch conceive of an age when human beings will not need the recreation which comes from contact with beauty separated from the scene of their work.

But there are signs that there is in Beauty some thing of intrinsic value quite unconnected with Service. Why do fashions change? Why do people get rid of things which are still perfectly useful and efficient but have become "dated"? The only possible conclusion is, that human beings have deep down in them an urge to create beauty, an urge for self-expression, which is essentially egoistic and has nothing whatever to do with the idea of service. What are Fashion and "Style" but one expression of true "art", the ever-changing revolt from classicism, the belief that art should reflect the spirit of its own age?

If this be so, why have we still so few beautiful gardens? Few people will maintain that, in our present stage of human development, beautiful gardens as places of recreation would not conduce to more efficient work in our factories. But even if this be conceded, that they would not, we cannot escape the perhaps pointless, yet inescapable, urge to create beauty which exists in our natures. We can suppress it—and that is what we have been doing, with disastrous results, ever since the gloomy Puritan tradition was converted by industrial development into the theory that beauty is antagonistic to integrity, a camouflage for the absence of sterner virtues.

The time has come to correct this great error. And a book has appeared which will go far to help in the work of correcting it: Mr. E. H. Wilson's "Plant Hunting" is dedicated to "those of every race and creed who have labored in distant lands to make our gardens beautiful". It is a comprehensive survey of the flora of all non-Occidental countries of the world--South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, The Tropics, The Orient—written into a historical background which makes the book approachable even for one who knows nothing of horticulture. As the author says in his introduction, "except in the back-blocks of China and the Thibetan borderland, . . . the work of the professional plant-hunter is fast drawing to a close. He has had brilliant innings and the fruits of his labors shed lustre on present-day civilization, for the gardens we enjoy are richer than any the world has known before." And yet it is too true that, for lack of wide-spread interest, many of the beautiful flowers, such as the "Cape plants" of 19th century fame, introduced in the past from abroad into our Northern countries, have been allowed to languish and become extinct, while an almost infinite number of varieties which could flourish here are still shedding their lustre only on the desert air of sparsely populated aboriginal countries.

The book constitutes a new and unrivalled glossary for the plant-lover, and, with its superb illustrations, a veritable mine of beauty. For the curious, it is fascinating to know exactly where many of the beautiful garden flowers which we already have come from, and to be able to picture them in their native surroundings.

But, first and foremost, the book is a challenge to those who believe that our modern age must have more and better vehicles for the expression of human beauty. "Agriculture", says the author "has led the march of civilization through the ages. Horticulture is her twin sister whose mission is to gratify man's aesthetic needs when agriculture has satisfied his bodily necessities".

Shanghai Nov 5, 1927 J. D. M.

In the United States Court for China

In re Estate of
CHARLES WILLIAM SHADE,
Deceased.

Estate No. 78
NOTICE

Pursuant to an Order of said Court, notice is hereby given to all persons having claims against the Estate of CHARLES WILLIAM SHADE, deceased, to present the same with vouchers to the undersigned, on or before April 22, 1928, and all persons owing debts to said deceased are hereby notified to make payment of the same in due course to the undersigned.

Chauncey P. Holcomb
2 Kiukiang Road,
Shanghai, China.

Shanghai, China,
October 17, 1927.

From Peking to Inner-Mongolia

The Long Old Road in China, by Langdon Warner. London; Arrowsmith Pub. Co.

Langdon Warner's book, "The Long Old Road in China," a narrative of collectors for the Harvard University Museum concerning their journey from Peking into Inner Mongolia and Chinese Turkestan, during the fall and winter of 1924, fails to give the reader what might be jusitifiably expected on a subject laden with so much material of interest. The journey made by the writer and companions covered thirty-four weeks from the time they left Peking until they returned. They traversed a country which is the cradle of an ancient civilization and peopled by various sorts of humanity. Instead of getting down to definite facts of what is to be found on the trail they took, the work is made up of a wealth of unimportant details and "fine" writing.

For one looking for amusement and almost light reading on a subject as complex as that discussed in Mr. Warner's book, the volume fills the need admirably. But for one seking to gather facts of what lies along the way from Peking to Chinese Turkestan, via a circuitious route extending as far south as the Yellow River, "The Long Old Road in China," does not suffice.

Mr. Warner has lost his subject in a mass of detail which does not allow the reader to establish a focal point in the volume. He reaches no climax and draws no conclusions. The tale runs in an even tenor throughout. It is comprised of the daily details of the journey, giving no "summing up" paragraphs or chapters which would enable the reader to visualisé what is taking place or where the party went. The work is full of names of out of the way places which mean little to most readers and have no great importance. A map included in the book pictures where the party went. It is needed.

Mr. Warner has attempted to compile a record of a long and hard journey into an interesting land. A book has been written which tells of his trip but it is like much of the country he traversed, it is one vast plain of detail with nothing to break the monotony.

NATIONALISM AND THE SHANGHAI QUESTION!

The *China Weekly Review* has just issued a special number devoted to the subject, "The Nationalist Movement and the Shanghai Question," which contains more than 100 pages of material dealing with matters of vital interest to Chinese and foreigners. Among the articles appearing in this number are the following:

From the Mixed Court to the Provisional Court.

Why the Shanghai Question Has Become a World Problem.

Is America Doing Her Share at Shanghai?

If There Should Be Foreign Intervention!

The Views of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, by Dr. C. C. Wu.

Chinese Nationalism Is a Living Reality, by Quo Tai-chi.

China's Politics During the Past Decade, by Dr. C. T. Wang.

Chinese Favor 'Moderate' Redemption of Shanghai, by G. Zay Wood.

An Analysis of the 'International' Settlement of Shanghai, by Dr. Manley O. Hudson.

The Problem of Municipal Government at Shanghai, an Interview with Gen. Hwang Fu, former Mayor.

The Legal Basis of the Municipality of Shanghai, by a former Member of the Faculty of the Comparative Law School.

Why the Settlements and Concessions Ought to be Abolished, by S. H. Wang.

The Chinese Revolutionary Movement and the Kuomintang, by C. S. Hoh.

Marshal Feng Yu-hsiang and the Kuominchun, by a Chinese Writer.

The New Mayor Discusses the Shanghai Problem, by Gen. Chang Ting-fang, Mayor of the Shanghai-Woosung Special District.

An Interview with Gen. Chiang Kai-shek, by Henry F. Misselwitz of the New York Times.

The Educational Programme of the Nationalist Government, by King Shu.

The Operations of Imperialist Russia in China, by Count Carlo Sforza, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Italy.

Shanghai and its New Provisional Court, by Manley O. Hudson, Professor of International Law at Harvard and member of the Secretariat of the League of Nations at Geneva.

The Nationalist Revolutionary Movement in China, by Gen. Bei Tsung-chi, Defense Commissioner at Shanghai.

The Basic Aims of the Chinese Nationalists, by P. T. Lau.

The New Split Between Hankow and Nanking, by J. B. P.

There has been a heavy demand for extra copies of this number so that those interested in obtaining copies should make application at once. The price is Mex. $1 a copy.

THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

J. B. POWELL, Editor

4 Avenue Edward VII, Shanghai.

Latest New York Stock Exchange Quotation

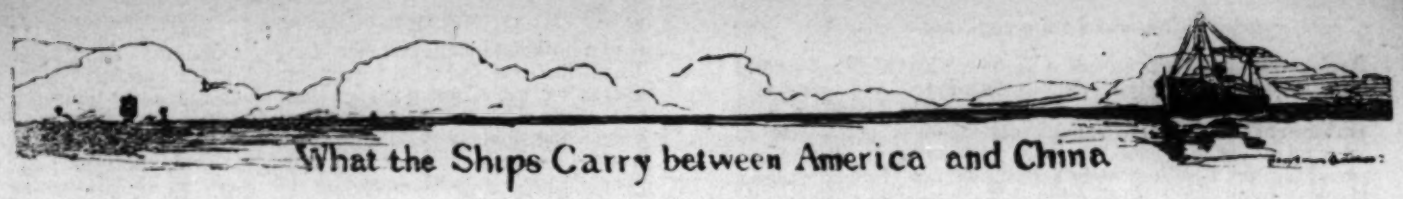
Nov. 10, Supplied by J. E. Swan & Co. Tel. C. 6615 6619. 0
Market Closed Irr Business Done 2,200,00

STOCK	Previous Price	Latest Price
Allied Chemical & Dye (Common)	147	148
American Can (Common)	68	66
American Radiator (Common)	131⅜	133
Amer. Smelting & Refining (Common)	165¼	168⅜
American Telephone & Tel. (Common)	177	177¼
American Tobacco "B"	175½	185⅜
Baldwin Locomotive Co. (Common)	254⅛	251
Bethlehem Steel (Common)	50⅜	51½
Bethlehem Steel, Pfd. 7%	141½	115½
Canadian Pacific Railway	191	191½
Canada Dry Ginger Ale	48⅞	47⅜
Cheasapeake & Ohio (Common)	209	209¼
Eastman Kodak Co. (Common)	164¼	164½
General Baking "A"	75½	76¼
General Electric (Common)	126⅛	127½
General Motors (Common)	229¼	228⅞
Goodrich (B.F.) Co. (Common)	70⅜	74⅛
International Match, Pfd.	86½	88½
International Nickel (Common)	66	65¼
Ligget & Myers, Class "B"	121¼	121
Mack Trucks (Common)	98¼	100
New York Central (Common)	162⅜	162⅜
Packard Motor Car Co. (Common)	47⅜	50
Phillips Petroleum (Common)	43½	42
Pacific Gas & Electric	42½	43¼
Radio Corp. of America (Common)	81½	78⅜
Reynolds Tobacco, Class "B"	147½	149
Standard Gas & Electric (Common)	59¾	60¼
Schulte Retail Stores (Common)	50¾	51
Southern Railway (Common)	135¼	136⅜
Standard Oil of California	56¼	56
" " of New Jersey	40¼	40
" " of New York	32¾	32
" " of Indiana	74⅜	74⅜
Texas Corporation (Common)	52	51⅞
Tobacco Products "A"	113½	112½
Union Carbide	134⅞	133½
Union Pacific RR. (Common)	188½	190¼
United Fruit	136⅞	133½
United Drug (Common)	196⅜	195
United States Rubber (Common)	48	49¾
United States Realty & Imp. Co.	60⅜	59
United States Steel	134½	134½

American Gold Bond Quotations

Name of Security	Coupon Rate %	Date of Maturity	Sale Price Nov. 3th	Sale Price Nov. 10th	Approx. Yield to Maturity Nov. 10th
Czecho Slovak Govt. Sinking Fund Loan...	8	Oct. 1, 1952	108¼	108¼	7.23
Czecho Slovak Govt. Ext. S. F. Loan.....	7½	Oct. 1, 1945	105¼	105	7.01
Republic Chile S.F. Loan	7	Nov. 1, 1942	101⅛	102⅞	6.73
Argentine Ext. S.F. Loan	6	May. 1, 1960	99	99	6.07
Italy, Ext. S. F. Loan..	7	Dec. 1, 1951	98¼	98	7.18
Austrian S. F. G. Loan..	7	June 1, 1943	106	105⅜	6.43
French Ext. S. F. Loan	8	Sept. 15, 1945	110⅛	111	6.92
Japanese Govt. (£).....	5	1907/1947	84⅛	84¼	6.40
German Govt. S. F. Loan	7	Oct. 15, 1949	106¼	106¼	6.46
Deutsche Renten Bank 1st Lien Farm Loan	7	Sept. 15, 1950	101¼	99¼	7.01
Saxon Public Works Inc. 1st Mtge. S. F. Loan ..	7	Feb. 1, 1945	99⅞	100¼	6.98
German G.E.C.S.F. Loan	7	Jan. 15, 1945	103¼	101⅞	6.81
Finnish Guaranteed Municipalities S. F. Loan...	6½	Oct. 1, 1954	99	99	6.58
Chicago Rapid Transit 1st. & Refunding Mtge.	6½	July 1, 1944	98⅛	98⅛	6.65
Northern Ohio Power & Light Co. Debentures.	6½	Jan. 1, 1941	100	100	6.50
Cuban Domin. Sugar Co. 1st Lien S. F. Loan...	7½	Nov. 1, 1944	101⅜	100¼	7.47
Camaguey Sugar Co. 1st. Mtge. S. F. Loan.....	7	Oct. 15, 1942	101	100½	6.95
Pennsylvania Dixie Cement Cumulative...	7	Pfd. Stock	98¼	98¼	7.11
Victor Talking Machine Company Cum, Prior	7	Pfd. Stock	97⅛	98	7.14
Willys Overland Co.....	7	Pfd. Stock	94	92⅞	7.54
The National City Bank of New York.....	20	Stock	705	720	2.78
Republic of Peru, Ext. Secured S. F. Loan...	7½	Sept. 1, 1956	102	102⅛	7.32

The National City Company, The National City Bank Building, No. 2A Kiukiang Road, Shanghai, China.



What the Ships Carry between America and China

Return of the Shanghai Customs

Pls.—1 Picul or 133 1/3 pounds. Bls.—Bales; Pcs.—Pieces; Mills—thousands; Hk. Tls.—Haikwan Tls., Nov. Customs Rate Tls. 1.46 equal Gold $1

OAKRIDGE, October 3.

from U. S. A.

Flour, Wheat	Pls.	368
Timber:		
Softwood, Ordinary, Sawn	Sup ft.	1,301,265
Softwood, Merchantable,	,,	429,338
Softwood, Clear	,,	36,366

PRESIDENT WILSON, October 4.

from U. S. A.

Waterproof Cloth	Yds.	1,708
Embroidery, Cotton	Pls.	12
Iron Bolts	,,	10
,, Nails, Cut	,,	8
,, Pipe Fittings	,,	7
Iron Galvanized:		
Pipe Fittings	,,	10
Sheets, Plain	,,	4,281
Tinfoil	,,	5
Tinned Plates, Plain	,,	1,271
Cheese	,,	28
Fruits, Canned	,,	74
,, Dried	,,	15
Grapes, Fresh	,,	18
Indigo Paste, Artificial:		
20 per cent	,,	1,353
50 ,,	,,	191
Ink, Printing	,,	268
Leather, Calf	,,	21
,, Patent	,,	6
,, Sole, Shoulders	,,	118
Milk, Evaporated	,,	294
Oranges, Fresh	,,	119
Packing, India-rubber	,,	38
Paper, Blotting	,,	4
,, Writing	,,	106
,, Unclassed	,,	387
Raisins	,,	878
Tobacco, Prepared	,,	7
Coffee	Catties	150
Bath-tubs, Enamelled	Pcs.	11
Lemons, Fresh	,,	5,250
Machines, Knitting	,,	6
Motor-cars	,,	2
Oilcloth	,,	471
Typewriters	,,	18
Canned Flour	Doz.	225
,, Meats	,,	46
,, Vegetables	,,	144
,, Goods, Unclassed	,,	412
Shirts	,,	4
Underwear	,,	109
Shoes, India-rubbr	Pairs	276
Oil, Lubricating, Mineral	Galls.	18,138
Paints, Unclassed	,,	882
Infants' Food	Hk. Tls.	1,986
Dyes, Aniline Pkgs. 83	Hk. Tls.	6,856
Machinery	,,	12,375
Treasure:		
Silver Bars	,,	1,925,758

PRESIDENT WILSON, October 6.

To Manila.

Oil, Lubricating, Mineral	Galls.	501
Sheetings, Grey,	Pcs.	1,000

To Hoboken.

Silk, Raw, Re-reeled: White, other Ports Bls. 30	Pls.	30.72

To New Bedford.

Silk, Waste: Shanghai ... Bls. 44	Pls.	134.92

To Boston.

Silk, Waste: Shanghai ... Bls. 45	,,	149.50

To New York.

Tea, Leaf Unfired, other Ports	,,	504
Antimony Regulus	,,	672
,, Oxide	,,	336
Bristles	,,	316
Hides, Cow	,,	158
Nutgalls	,,	167
Oil, Groundnut	,,	31
,, Tea	,,	3
,, Wood	,,	9,225
Wool, Sheep's	,,	1,198

PRESIDENT JACKSON, October 7.

From U. S. A.

Apples, Fresh	Pls.	23
Asbestos Packing	,,	2
Asparagus	,,	130
Butter	,,	7
Cheese	,,	6
Fruits, Table	,,	147
Grease, Lubricating, Mineral	,,	54
Leather, Calf	,,	3
Leather, Sole, Shoulders	,,	112
Oil, Lubricating, Mineral	Galls.	10,277
Treasure:		
Silver Bars	Hk. Tls.	917,008

PRESIDENT MADISON, October 7.

To Duluth.

Tea, Green:		
Gunpowder, Ningpo.	Pls.	13
Gunpowder, Kiukiang	,,	4
Young Hyson, Kiukiang	,,	82
Young Hyson, other Ports	,,	25
Imperial, Kiukiang	,,	19
Hyson, Kiukiang	,,	64

To Madison, Wis.

Carpets, Woollen	Hk. Tls.	129

To Springfield Mass.

Carpts, Woollen	Hk. Tls.	147

To St. Louis.

Rugs, Chinese	Hk. Tls.	678

To Houston.

Hair, Human	Pls.	13

To Kansas.

Tea, Green: Gunpowder, Ningpo.	,,	14

To Tacoma, Wash.

Tea, Black, other kinds, Kiukiang	,,	27

To Minneapolis.

Hog Casings, Salted	,,	15

To Charleston.

Hair, Human	,,	72

To Buffalo.

Intestines, Sheep	,,	8
,, Pig	,,	40

To Seattle.

Tea, Green: Gunpowder, Ningpo.	,,	40
Tea, Black, other kinds, other Ports	,,	16
Brassware	,,	9
Egg Yolk, Dried	,,	159
Intestines, Pig	,,	49
Oil, Wood	,,	9,482
Fans, Straw	Pcs.	16,416
Carpets	Hk. Tls.	757

To Philadelphia.

Wool, Sheep's	Pls.	501

To New York.

Silk, Waste, Filature: Long, Shanghai	Bls. 9 ,,	30.27
Silk, Waste: Other Ports	Bls. 15 ,,	48.96
Brassware	,,	10
Intestines, Pig	,,	90
,, Sheep	,,	13
Antimony Regulus	,,	420
Cotton, Waste	,,	100
Egg Yolk, Dried	,,	55
Skins, Sheep, Tanned	Pcs	5,000
,, Rabbit, Untanned	,,	20,000
,, Dog Tanned	,,	5,299
Mouflons, White	,,	863
,, Brown	,,	242
,, Grey	,,	6,347
Carpets	Hk. Tls.	2,043

CHINESE PRINCE, October 11.

From U. S. A.

Sheetings, White, over 41 in. wide	Yds.	949
Steel, Screws	Pls.	12
Tinned Plates, Plain	,,	2,100
,, ,, Scrap	,,	749
,, ,, Strip	,,	420
Aluminium Foil	,,	236
Flour, Corn	,,	62
Starch, Corn	,,	420
Glucose	,,	54
Leather, Calf	,,	3
Petrolatum	,,	44
Soda, Ash	,,	63
Tobacco, Leaf	,,	1,099
Wax, Paraffin	,,	1,676
Machinery	Hk. Tls.	4,559

TACOMA, October 12.

From U S. A.

Gasoline, in bulk	Galls.	391,526
Oil, Lubricating, Mineral	Galls.	212,413

Weekly Cotton Market Report

By J. Spunt & Co.

China Cotton:—Prices in spot cotton were easier with very small absorbing power being manifested during the past week, in that spinners bought in parcels sufficient only to meet their immediate requirements, preferring to wait for better prospects in the textile industries. Price fluctuations continued within a very narrow range during the greater portion of the week, but toward the close evinced a firmer tendency. Such firmness is attributable to no other influence than that of the rise in Mid-Americans brought about by the frost in Western Texas, lack of hedge selling pressure, shorts covering and trade buying in the U. S. A.

As to the trend of prices in the immediate future, there is nothing visible at the moment to support expectations of any recession, and should the rates in Mid-Americans and Indians continue in its upward course, prices on the local staple will naturally move in the same direction.

Yarn:—The market during the past week has been keeping steady to firm, and prices advanced from Tls. 1.00 to Tls. 1.50 as compared with those of last week. In all some 9,000 to 10,000 bales of local spinnings have been booked for Newchwang, Canton, Hankow, Fukien, Tientsin, Wuhu, Kiangse, Yunan, Ningpo. Swatow, Chefoo, Amoy, Szechuen, Angking and other interior ports.

Liverpool:—		*New York Market:—*	
American-Middling	11.82	Price of Mid-Amer.	21.15 Spot.
American-Middling last reported	11.80		20.73 Dec.
			20.76 Jan.
Tone of the Market, *Steady*			20.93 Mar.
			21.05 May.
			20.78 July.
		Tone of the market—*Steady*	

Indian Market:—		*Shanghai Market:—*	Tls.
Fully Good Bengal, D./J.	335	Tungchow, O./N. exwharf	36.00
Fine Oomra, D/J	373	Shanghai, O./N.	34.00
Fully Good Broach, A./M.	405	M. Ginned, Spot	34.50
		Shensi, No. 1 O./N./Dec.	36.00
Tone of the market—*Steady*		Ningpo. Spot, Exwharf.	32.00
		Tone of the market—*Steady*	

(Continued from page 282)

Peking-Suiyuan Railway—Koo Meng-yu leaves Hankow and also reported that Kuomintang members are generally leaving for Canton—Public organizations in Nanking hold conference and decide to launch anti-Japanese demonstration on account of negotiations now proceeding in Peking between Chang Tso-ling and Yoshizawa on Manchuria and Mongolia questions; Nanking may start anti-Japanese boycott—Nanking report by *Kuo Min* agency states Tang Shen-tse may retire shortly—Yang Shuan-chen appointed commissioner of foreign affairs at Hankow—Alleged communists reported active in Wusih, Kiangsu, threatening to cut railway—Sun Chuan-fang ordered to Peking for conference—Reported by *KuoMin* that Chang Chung-chang has appointed Chu Yu-puh in control of all Chihli-Shantung troops on Lung-Hai line—Gen. Tan Yen-kai sends delegate to Canton to pursuade Wang Ching-wei to return to Nanking; Generals Li Tsung-jen and Bei Tsung-chi at Nanking also send telegrams to Wang to same effect—Nanking appoints Mei Kung-pei as head of Kiangsu Anti-opium bureau.

November 3—Chiang Kai-shek, according to *Toho* report from Tokyo, states that the Chinese General has gone to Osaka to confer with representatives of the cotton spinners association, following which he is returning to Tokyo to talk with Premier Tanaka—Wang Ching-wei and six other members of Central Executive Committee of Kuomintang at Canton circulate telegram disapproving of Nanking Central Special Committee and advocating immediate holding of 4th Plenary Conference of Central Executive and Supervisory Committee in Canton; establish secretariat and office in Canton; situation at Canton tense between Generals Li Chi-sum and Chang Fa-kwei—Gen. Cheng Ming-chu, commander of 11th army arrives at Foochow from Shanghai and warmly welcomed by members of Kuomintang and public bodies—Nanking Government orders observance of the anniversary of Sun Yat-sen; also appoints committee to revise constitution and procedure of Court of Procurate—So-called communist or peasant uprising at Ishing, near Wusih, suppressed by military of Nanking Government.

November 4—Toho report from Peking states that Fengtien has captured Tatung on the Peking-Suiyuan Railway—Martial law declared in Kiukiang and handbills put up attacking Tang Shen-tse—Yang Sen's troops arrive in Ichang—Chinese coal merchants in Tientsin declare strike owing to tax impositions of Fengtien authorities; British Kailan Mining Administration refuses to pay tax and ceases operations on Nov. 1; Kailan yards at Tientsin guarded by British troops—Foreign report from Canton states troops in that area include 30,000 in East River district; 6,000 in West River area; 30,000 in North River; 10,000 in Delta area; also reported that 30,000 troops might be sent to Hunan against Tang Shen-tse, but believed that Gen. Li Chi-sum may withhold troops in order to oppose Gen. Chang Fa-kweiSino-Japanese Cultural Society, which has charge of the expenditure of the unexpended balance of the Japanese share of the China Boxer Indemnity, holds meeting in Peking—Japanese Government appropriates sum of Yen 1,040,000 to be loaned to Japanese victims of disturbances in the Yangtse Valley, the money to be loaned at 3 percent for a period of 15 years, but no interest to be payable in first three years; Yen 150,000 to be available at Shanghai and Yen 50,000 to victims in Hankow—*Kuo Min* report from Nanking claims Hanyang, near Hankow has been captured from Tang Shen-tse by Yang Sen; Nanking Government announces establishment of political councils for Hupeh and Hunan to be installed following defeat of Tang Shen-tse—Nationalists claim capture of Haichow at eastern end of Lung-Hai Railway—*Kuo Min* report alleges that Chang Tso-ling has dismissed Gen. Han Lin-chun from office—Quo Tai-chi warns foreign firms from granting loans or making financial advances to Tang Shen-tse on grounds that Tang is a "traitor" to the government—Nationalist Government sends telegram to Wang Ching-wei at Canton urging him to return to Nanking—Spanish Minister in Peking demands extension of Sino-Spanish treaty, but Peking refuses—Chang Tso-ling arrests Pan Shao-sung, Peking correspondent of the *China Times* a leading Chinese paper at Shanghai on charge that he has been sending dispatches unfavorable to Peking—Pan Fu, Peking premier sends delegate to Tsinanfu to try to induce Gen. Chung-chang to release Madame C. C. Wu—Kuomintang branch in Kiangsu has suggested to Nationalists that any Kuomintang member caught smoking opium be dismissed from office and punished—British, French and Japanese Ministers continue to protest about Chang Chung-chang's threatened seizure of salt revenues in Shantung—Nanking appoints Shen Chung as chairman of the goods valuation commission at Shanghai Customs House.

November 5—Sudden anti-British boycott and shipping strike breaks out at Canton—Hankow branch of Political Section passes resolutions: (1) That members of military council in Hankow shall compose Military Council of Nanking under Nationalist Government; (2) that 23 prominent Kuomintangists including Ku Meng-yu, Generals Yang Sen, Tang Shen-tse and others shall constitute the executive committee of the Council; (3) that Generals Tang Shen-tse, Chu and Hsu will constitute a permanent committee; (4) That Tang Shen-tse shall be the supreme power in the Hankow area—*Toho* report state that while the attitude of Gen. Chu Peh-teh is still uncertain he bears no ill-will toward Nanking—Peking report states Fengtien troops have captured Hauijen on Peking-Suiyuan Railway—Gen. Tan Yen-kai at Nanking telegraphs Wang Ching-wei insisting that the Fourth Plenary Session of Kuomintang be held in Nanking, to which Wang replies that the Canton faction might agree if Nanking would dissolve the "illegal" Central Special Committee—*Kuo Min* agency publishes critical review of case wherein Japanese authorities at Shanghai sentence a Japanese printer to only 7 days imprisonment for forging tobacco revenue stamps to the value of $40,000—Nanking report states that Yen Hsi-shan's troops have captured Jehol—Nanking appoints Generals Ho Yin-chin, Bei Tsung-chi, Li Tsung-jen, Chen Zung-yung and Chu Peh-teh to jointly command the Northern Expedition and the campaign against Tang Shen-tze—Prof. George H. Blakeslee, American authority on international relations visits Nanking and confers with C. C. Wu and Wang Chung-hui—Nanking report states that on following the capture of Kweiteh by the Feng Yu-hsiang forces, that Feng is now moving on Hsuchowfu which he expects to capture shortly—Peking report by *Kuo Wen* states that Chang Tso-ling is planning to issue $7,000,000 in bonds secured on Belgian share of Boxer Indemnity—Chang Chung-chang sends reinforcements to Lung-Hai line owing to precarious position of Chihli-Shantung troops—Peking decides to extend Sino-French treaty another three months—Peking appoints Chen Lu as delegate to League—Chinese merchants at Nantungchow lose more than $100.000 due to looting by soldiers.

November 6—Peking reports by *Reuter* now confirm success of Feng Yu-hsiang in fighting on Lung-Hai Railway, Feng having captured Kweiteh and the fall of Hsuchowfu being imminent—Gen. Chiang Kai-shek has second interview with Baron Shibusawa on subject of Chinese-Japanese economic "coalescense"—Troops of 16th and 20th armies begin to depart from Ichang for Shasi; temporary military council organized for West Route Army composed of Yang Sen, Lu Ti-ping, Feng Chen-wu and Chen-chu—Mass meeting held in Wuhu against Tang Shen-tse—Some 8,000 Nationalist troops now in Kiukiang and more continue to arrive from down river; so-called communists distribute handbills in Kiukiang denouncing both Tang Shen-tse and Chu-Yu-puh—Nationalists behead three soldiers alleged responsible for looting of Nantungchow—Gen. Ho Kuo-kwang chief of the Wu-han military committee appointed vice-garrison commander at Hankow—Entire 8th Nationalist army reported to have now advanced across the Yangtsze for participating in the Northern campaign—Nanking appoints Lo Wen-chwan as vice-minister of justice—Chu Ming-yi member of the Central Special committee at Nanking resigns to go abroad—Nanking claims to have received letter from Gen. Ho Chien of Hankow faction, pledging his allegience to Nanking.

November 7-8—Chinese soldiers fire on Japanese gunboat at Shasih, Upper Yangtsze; Japanese return fire scattering Chinese troops—Early clash expected between Nanking and Hankow troops along Hupeh border due attempted invasion of Hupeh by Nanking forces—Nanking troops enter Wu-hsueh—Shantung authorities decided to call off increased tonnage due owing to Powers opposition—Fighting starts between Nanking and Hankow troops in vicinity of Wu-hsueh, causing Hankow troops under Ho Chien to retreat; Tang Shen-tse claims victory over Yang Sen's troops advancing on Hankow from Ichang on west—Nanking forces transport 6 locomotives across Yangtse from Nanking side for service in Northern advance—Situation remains tense in Wusih area along Shanghai-Nanking Railway due communist unrest among laborers and peasants—*Toho* report from Peking states Fengtien troops under Gen. Chang Tso-hsiang captured Weichow, following which they entered Shansi borders—Marshal Chang Chung-chang, tupan of Shantung goes to front on Lung-Hai Railway to assume personal command—*Kuo Min* report from Nanking states that Feng Yu-hsiang's forces are within three miles of Hsuchowfu—Feng claims capture of three armored trains from Chihli-Shantung troops on Lung-Hai line—Feng claims capture of 500 White Russians in fighting at Kweiteh—Nationalists at Nanking claim their forces are rapidly enveloping Pengpu—*Kuo Min* report alleges that Chang Tso-ling is preparing to declare himself "emperor" of China—*Kuo Min* report from Canton states Gen. Li Chi-sum is sending troops against Tang Shen-tse in Hunan—Hongkong report states Eugene Chen returning to Canton; T. V. Soong reported returning to Shanghai from Canton; Chiang Kai-shek returning to Shanghai from Japan.

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